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LIVES
OF THE
ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. V.

Middle-Age Period.

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LIVES

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

BY

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. F.R.S.

DEAN OF CHICHESTER.

VOLUME V.

MIDDLE-AGE PERIOD.

History which may be called just and perfect history is of three kinds, according to the object which it propoundeth or pretendeth to represent: for it either representeth a time, or a person, or an action. The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narratives or Relations. Of these, although Chronicles be the most complete and absolute kind of history, and hath most estimation and glory, yet Lives excelleth in profit and use, and Narratives or Relations in verity or sincerity.

LORD BACON



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ADVERTISEMENT.

WITH the present volume we conclude the History of the Primates who governed our Church antecedently to the period of the Reformation. The History of the Reformation will commence in the Sixth Volume, which is already in the press.

W. F. H.

February, 1867.



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OF

ARCHBISHOPS AND CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

Archbishops	Conse- cration.	Consecrators.	Acces- sion.	Death.	Contemporary Kings.
Henry Chicheley .	1408	Gregory XII. . .	1414	1443	{ Henry V. Henry VI.
John Stafford . .	1425	{ Hen. Winchester . . John London . . . Phil. Worcester . . Will. Lichfield . . John Rochester . . Ben. S. David's . . }	1443	1452	Henry VI.
John Kemp . .	1419	{ Will. Ebronensis . . Mart. Arras . . . }	1452	1454	Henry VI.
Thomas Bouchier .	1435	{ Hen. Winchester . . John York . . . John Bath . . . Robert Sarum . . . John S. Asaph . . }	1454	1486	{ Henry VI. Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. Henry VII.
John Morton . .	1479	Thomas	1486	1500	Henry VII.
Henry Dean . .	1496	John	1501	1503	Henry VII.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

▲.D.	ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	GERMANY.	FRANCE.	POPE.	SPAIN.
1414	Henry V.	James I.	Sigismond.	Charles VI.	John XXII.	John II. (<i>Castile.</i>) Ferdinand I. (<i>Arragon.</i>) Charles III. (<i>Navarre.</i>)
1416	Alphonso V. (<i>Arragon.</i>)
1417	Martin V.	
1422	Henry VI.	.....	.....	Charles VII.		
1425	Blanche (<i>Navarre</i>) and John I. (<i>Arragon.</i>)
1431	Eugene IV.	
1437	James II.	Albert II.			
1440	Frederic III.			
1447	Nicholas V.	
1454	Henry IV. (<i>Castile.</i>)
1455	Calixtus III.	
1458	Pius II.	
1460	James III.				
1461	Edward IV.	.....	.....	Louis XI.		
1464	Paul II.	
1471	Sixtus IV.	
1474	Ferdinand II. and Isabella (<i>Castile.</i>)
1479	Ferdinand II. the Catholic (<i>Arragon.</i>) Eleanor (<i>Navarre.</i>) Francis Phœbus (<i>Navarre.</i>)
1483	Edward V. Richard III.	.....	.....	Charles VIII.	.....	Catherine (<i>Navarre.</i>)
1484	Innocent VIII.	
1485	Henry VII.					
1488	James IV.				
1492	Alexander VI.	
1493	Maximilian I.			
1498	Louis XII.		
1503	Pius III.	

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OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

BOOK III.

MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

Continued.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY CHICHELEY.

Tradition at Higham Ferrers.—William of Wykeham.—Henry Chicheley born at Higham Ferrers.—Primary Education at Winchester.—Education by Seculars.—Goes to New College.—Becomes a Fellow.—Studies Law.—His Ordinations and early Preferments.—His Brother successful in Trade.—Patronized by the Bishop of Salisbury.—Employed on an Embassy to the Pope.—State of the Papacy.—Chicheley consecrated Bishop of St. David's.—Returns to England.—Takes the Oath of canonical Obedience to the Primate of England.—Does Homage to the King.—Sent on the Deputation from the Church of England to the Council of Pisa.—Proceedings at Pisa.—Returns Home.—Involved in a Lawsuit.—Resigns his Preferments.—Employed on an Embassy to "our Adversary of France."—Returns to his Diocese.—On Death of Henry IV. recalled to Court.—Elected to the See of Canterbury on Arundel's Death.—Chicheley as a Statesman.—Lollardism, a political Schism.—Insurrection of Sir John Oldcastle.—Lord Cobham.—Vigorous Measures of Henry V.—Parliament at Leicester.—Political Measures against Lollards.—Chicheley does not urge on the War with France from low Party Motives.—Causes of the War.—Chicheley's Confiscation of the Property of alien Priories.—At

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Henry  
Chicheley.  
1414-43.

THERE is a tradition at Higham Ferrers which it is pleasant to accept and not necessary to doubt. It is said, that William of Wykeham, who at one period of his life was connected with Northamptonshire, and who, at the time referred to in the story, may have

Authorities.—There is a short and superficial life of Chicheley by Hoveden, in MS. among the muniments of All Souls' College, Oxford. It states some facts relating to his life, with little or no comment upon them; it is written in Latin, and bears date 29th December, 1574; it has Hoveden's initials at the end of the heading, but is not written in his hand. It occupies rather more than three folio pages. In the copy of the Statutes, in the possession of the present learned Warden of All Souls', there is "A short Discourse touching Henry Chicheley." It is transcribed from a

been on a visit at the castle,\* went forth one evening, like Isaac, to meditate in the fields. Wandering along the pastures watered by the Nene, he saw and conversed with a shepherd's boy, and was so pleased with his answers and remarks, that he caused inquiry to be made as to his birth, parentage, and education. The bishop's servant, who was directed to obtain the information which William of Wykeham required, found the boy seated on his mother's lap and eating his dinner. That boy was Henry Chicheley, and, like many other eminent men, Henry Chicheley was indebted for his success in this life, and his hopes of a better, to the

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similar entry in the Archbishop of Canterbury's copy of the Statutes, at Lambeth. It is supposed to have been drawn up by Warden Warner, shortly before Hoveden's, but it relates exclusively to Chicheley's connexion with the foundation of the college. It certainly does not justify Spencer's description of it, as abounding with "gross errors." The life of Chicheley, in Latin, by Arthur Duck, was published in 1617 in Latin, and again by Bates in 1681. There is an English translation, to which I have chiefly referred, as being fuller than the Latin. Duck was followed by Spencer, in 1783. Spencer adds little to the information contained in the work of his predecessor. The object of these writers was to throw light upon the foundation of the college, rather than upon the general history of the Church. The other authorities used in the present Life are:—The *Stemmata Chicheleana*; the *Regist. Chichel. MSS.*; Tanner; *An English Chronicle*, written before 1471, published by the Camden Society; Robert Redmayne's *Vita Henrici Quinti*; *Elmhams Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto*; *Versus Rhythmici in laudem Henrici Quinti*; the last three edited by C. A. Cole. To my kind friends, the Rev. Dr. Leighton, the Warden of All Souls' College, the Rev. Dr. Sewell, Warden of New College, and the Rev. Dr. Moberly, Head Master of Winchester, I am indebted for their diligent kindness, in searching for information among the documents of their respective houses. To the Rev. George Malins I have to express my thanks, for information afforded me about Higham Ferrers, of which place there is an interesting History, by Mr. Cole.

\* He was Archdeacon of Northampton for a short time.



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care of a mother who trained his intellect and educated his affections. This boy William of Wykeham determined to educate at the college, the foundations of which he was now laying at Winchester.\*

It has been affirmed, that the father of Henry Chicheley was by trade a tailor. That such a report was circulated, when Henry had become the primate of all England, is countenanced by the fact of the practical joke which was played upon him by the courtiers of Henry VI. to whom he had on some occasion given offence.† They caused him to be served with a pie full of rags; the rag-pie being intended to remind the first peer of the realm of his humble origin. That his father was engaged in trade is as certain as that, through success in trade, he was able to become a landed proprietor; but it is probable that he had passed from the shop to the farm before the birth of Henry, and that it

\* Higham Ferrers was a place of some importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Henry V. in his will, mentions the castle as belonging to the house of Lancaster.

† The story is of doubtful authority. In a MS. in the handwriting of Richard Symonds, now in the Harleian Collection (No. 991, 27), it is thus given, and reflects credit upon Chicheley's good humour and power of repartee. One of the courtiers, it is said, of Henry VI.'s time, sent by one of the king's servants, as from the king, a pie full of rags, a present to *Cardinal* Chicheley. It is here to be observed, as throwing suspicion on the story, that upon Chicheley a cardinal's hat had never been conferred. The point of the joke was to depreciate Chicheley, as the son of a tailor or draper. The cardinal, as he is called, received the messenger very civilly, and desired him to present his duty to his majesty, and to thank the king for thus reminding him of a very worthy and affectionate parent. He added, sarcastically, that he would make it his prayer that the king might as much surpass his royal father in all arts of prowess and virtue, as Chicheley had surpassed his in honour and preferments. Thomas Chicheley, the father, died on the 25th of February, 1400. His tomb was in the Lady-chapel of Higham Ferrers.—*Stemmata Chicheleana*, vii. viii.

was, as one of the landed gentry, he sought the hand and won the heart of Agnes Pyncheon. That the father of Agnes Pyncheon was more than a yeoman, is proved by the fact of his exhibiting a coat of arms at a time when to do so was penal, unless the right was beyond dispute.\* At all events, the family of Chicheley, which had been settled at Higham Ferrers for two generations, was of high respectability; and Henry himself was, as a child, designed by his father, not for the shop, but for agricultural pursuits.

Henry Chicheley was born about the year 1362-3,† and it is affirmed, that he was admitted a scholar of Winchester College in 1373. This statement, though virtually, is not literally correct. The celebrated college of St. Mary Winton, near Winchester, was not founded, strictly speaking, before the 20th of October, 1382, which is the date of its charter. The first stone of the material edifice was laid on the 26th of March, 1387. The chapel, the cloisters, and the cemetery were not consecrated till 1394. But before the buildings were completed, or even commenced, William of Wykeham had appointed a master and under-master to educate seventy boys, for whose board and lodging he paid, at the college of St. John Baptist on the Hill. These boys were to be educated, for the St. Mary Winton College, at Oxford, which William of Wykeham had already established, and which is now known as New College.‡

\* The Pyncheons bore arms—Or, a bend, three plates with a border counterchanged, azure and sable.—Pref. to Stemmata Chichel. viii.

† In a letter to Pope Eugenius, in 1442, he represents himself as an octogenarian.

‡ This munificent prelate and distinguished statesman has come before us on other occasions. I shall here add the leading facts of that life which, when the facts are detailed, may be truly called eventful. The reader is referred for these details to Bishop Lowth and the Rev. Precentor Walcott, who have thoroughly investigated

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We may pause to observe, that this was an era in the history of our country. William of Wykeham was among the first to set the example, which was followed almost immediately by Chicheley, and subsequently by

all the private documents relating to his life and institutions. He was born at Wykeham, in Hampshire, in the year 1324, the son of John and Sybil Longe. He was educated at the Minster School at Winchester, but it is, I think, more than doubtful whether he went to Oxford. He found friends and patrons, made by his genius and virtues, in Sir Nicolas Uvedale, Bishop Edingdon, and Edward III. His learning, however, in conjunction with his natural genius, won for him the title of "another Euclid in Geometry," and like Sir Christopher Wren he applied his information to practical purposes, being pre-eminent as an engineer and an architect. By Edward III. he was appointed, in 1356, Clerk of the King's works, and Surveyor of Windsor Castle and all the other castles and parks. He was justiciary of all the royal forests. By his advice the king pulled down the greater part of Windsor Castle, and by his skill it was rebuilt nearly as we find it now. Another great work of his was Queenborough Castle. The nave of Winchester Cathedral and his two St. Mary Winton colleges still live to attest his munificence as well as his genius. He was equally eminent as a lawyer, a divine, and a statesman. Like other ecclesiastics of the day, he accumulated a vast number of small benefices, which are not here enumerated, as they may be found in works of easy access. He was Archdeacon of Northampton for a short time, and was in 1360 Dean of St. Martin's, in London, of which important office we have had occasion more than once to speak. He was consecrated to the see of Winchester on the 10th of October, 1367. In the same year he was President of the Council, and Chancellor of England. Four times he was appointed Chancellor. He was the constant friend of Edward III., and of Edward the Black Prince, but found in John of Gaunt an enemy, whose enmity, however, he lived down. Towards the close of his life, he occupied a situation similar to that occupied in our time by the aged Duke of Wellington. The Government always consulted him in emergencies, and his counsels always tended to peace. He died on the 27th of September, 1404, at Bishop's Waltham, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral.—Lowth, *Life of Wykeham*. Walcott, William of Wykeham and his Colleges.

Wolsey and the Lady Margaret of Richmond, of diverting a portion of the conventual revenues to the establishment of schools and colleges, to be conducted by the secular clergy. The education of the people had been previously conducted almost entirely by the regulars, and schools were attached to the monasteries. For reasons which will come hereafter, under more special consideration, the monasteries had already declined in popularity and in their powers of usefulness. The greater monasteries had absorbed the smaller, by purchasing their property; and, following in their steps, William of Wykeham, and afterwards Chicheley, were enabled to endow their scholastic establishments with monastic lands, which, being in the market, were purchased by these prelates. The principles, the plans, and the whole system of education devised or adopted by the genius of William of Wykeham, one of the master spirits of the age, were closely followed by Henry VI. when he founded Eton and King's; and Wykehamists may claim for their founder the honour of having established that public school system, to which we mainly trace the character of the English gentleman.

Although there is no entry in the rolls of Winchester to show in what year Henry Chicheley became a Wykehamist, yet the year 1373 is the date generally assigned for his admission; and if this be the case, then was Chicheley not only among the most eminent, but also the first of Wykeham's sons:—

“ Nations, and thrones, and reverend laws have melted like a dream,  
Yet Wykeham's works are green and fresh beside the crystal  
stream :

Four hundred years and fifty their rolling course have sped,  
Since the first serge-clad scholar to Wykeham's feet was led ;  
And still his seventy faithful boys, in these presumptuous days,  
Learn the old truth, speak the old words, tread in the ancient  
ways ;

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Still for their daily orisons resounds the matin chime ;  
Still linked in bands of brotherhood, St. Catherine's steep they climb ;  
Still to their Sabbath worship they troop by Wykeham's tomb,  
Still in the summer twilight sing their sweet song of home." \*

From Winchester Chicheley proceeded to New College, Oxford. In the University there had been also what Bishop Lowth calls a preparatory establishment, synchronizing with that of Winchester, and commencing in the year 1373. Until the year 1386, when the college buildings were completed, the fellows were provided with lodgings at a cost of £10 13s. 4d. a year. Chicheley must have been among the first who occupied college rooms ; for he took his degree of bachelor of laws in the third week of 1389-90.† He was at that time a fellow, having been, no doubt, admitted at the expiration of his two years of probation. His name occurs as residing in the college for the first time in the Steward of hall's book, in the thirty-seventh week of 1386-7. This is supposed to be the date of his admission as a scholar. His name appears on the rolls (running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas) as a bachelor of laws in 1389. How he came to take that degree so early does not appear. In 1390-1 he had a severe illness, and allowance was made him for commons, during his illness, at the rate of sixteen pence a week for six weeks. For five weeks from the 11th of August, the rate of payment was reduced to fourteen pence. He resided, more or less, till the twenty-seventh week of the year 1392. After which there is no further mention of his name.‡

\* These beautiful verses were written by Sir Roundell Palmer, Attorney-General to Queen Victoria, himself among the sons of Wykeham pre-eminent.

† Spicer makes him B.C.L. in 1388, but I give the dates from the college books.

‡ Bursar's Accounts, New College.

Although Chicheley had determined to devote his talents to the law, it was from the Church, as was the custom of the age, that he hoped to derive his emoluments. In 1392 he was ordained to the office of sub-deacon, if ordination it may be called, by the Bishop of Derry acting for the Bishop of London. Even before this, he held a living in the diocese of St. Asaph,\* for which he seems to have vacated his fellowship at New College. In March, 1396, he became Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, on the presentation of the prior and convent of Colchester.† On the 26th of May following he was ordained deacon by Edmund, bishop of Exeter, under letters dimissory from the Bishop of London.‡ On the 23d of September in the

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\* Tanner, 176. "A. 1391 pastor fuit eccles. de Llanvarchall." Godwin, i. 126. The three holy orders were at this time—Priest, Deacon, and Sub-deacon. The inferior orders were those of—Acolyte, Exorcist, Reader, and Porter.

† Newcourt, i. 538.

‡ Bishop Stafford's Register, vol. i. The Register of Ordinations is not paged; it follows fol. cexlviii., and commences with an ordination in the church of St. Mary Major, Exeter, on the 18th September, 1395. Three ordinations follow in "Anno Domini supradict.;" but as they are in months anterior to September, viz. in March, April, and May, "supradict." is evidently an error; and in the third the error is corrected by writing in the character of the period, thus, "m° ccc<sup>mo</sup> nonagesimo sexto."

The entry of the ordination so corrected is as follows :—

"Ordines celebrati p. dñm in Capella Hospicii sui London die Sab̃b̃ti quatuor temp̃or̃ in Vigilia Sce. Trinitatis, videlicet xxvi. die mensis Maii anno domini supradict. et cons. domini anno p̃ñō. de licentiā & cōmissione speciali Revēdi in Xpō patris & domini domini Roberti p̃missione divina London Ep̃i : cōmissionis tenor sequitur & est talis."

"Revendo," &c.

"Diaconi"—

"Mag<sup>r</sup> Henricus Chicheley, R<sup>t</sup> eccl̃ie St̃i Steph̃i in Wallebroke, civitatis London p̃ lras di."



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same year he was admitted to priest's orders by the Bishop of Basel, suffragan to the Bishop of London.\*

Chicheley was, during this period, practising as a lawyer, and having taken his degree as doctor of laws, was successful as an advocate in the Court of Arches. In the parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook, he settled, and made a settlement for his family. He came of a commercial family, and the commercial men in London formed an aristocracy, with the honours of which the brothers of Henry were contented, even when Henry himself had become the first peer of the realm. To be the head of the commercial world they thought preferable to the position of new men struggling for a recognition among the landed gentry. They settled in London as grocers; and as a grocer was then not so much a retail dealer as a merchant carrying on trade with various parts of the world, from which spiceries of all kinds were imported, their business was one which implied considerable capital on their part to start with. Both brothers became aldermen of the city of London. William served the office of sheriff; and Sir Robert was twice Lord Mayor. The latter bequeathed a large fortune to pious uses.†

Although Henry Chicheley found his home in St. Stephen's, Walbrook, he was not constantly resident. His legal abilities recommended him to the notice of Richard Mitford, bishop of Salisbury.

Richard of Mitford had been confessor to Richard II. As one of the royal favourites he was imprisoned in Bristol Castle by the confederate lords, when they triumphed over the king in 1388. But he survived the malignity of party rage, and was consecrated to

\* Tanner. William "Basiliensis" occurs as suffragan to the Bishop of London, 1394 to 1399. Stubbs, 144.

† Newcourt, i. 582. Stow, ii. 197.

the see of Chichester in 1390 ; having been formerly a canon of Windsor, and Archdeacon of Norfolk. In 1394 he accompanied Richard II. to Ireland, and there Mitford was made Treasurer. He was translated to Salisbury in 1395.\* Here he required a legal adviser, and Dr. Chicheley was commended to his notice. The remuneration of a lawyer was not a salary, but some ecclesiastical preferment, which was either a sinecure, or a place the duties of which could be performed by a deputy.

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If we regard the preferments which were now heaped upon Chicheley in the light of fees paid him for work done, or as retaining fees from his patron, we have a proof that, as an advocate, he was successful. On the 3d of September, 1397, he was collated to the archdeaconry of Dorset, with a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Salisbury. The Bishop of St. David's, Guy de Mona, or Guy Mohun,† conferred upon him a canonry in the church of Abergwilly in the year 1400 : and in the same year he had a stall at Lichfield. In 1402 he became Archdeacon of Salisbury. In the same year he was retained as a lawyer by the pope, and, in direct contravention of the law, was nominated to a prebend in Salisbury and to a canonry in the col-

\* He died in 1407. When he was at Chichester he gave us a new body of statutes, which are still in force. Hardy's *Le Neve*; Stubbs, 60. See also Pat. 18 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 3.

† Guy de Mohun, or Mona, of Anglesey, had been Rector of Bradwell, Vicar of Harrow, Canon of Salisbury, and of Lincoln, and Treasurer of St. Paul's, London. He was consecrated Bishop of St. David's on the 11th of November, 1397. He was appointed Lord High Treasurer on the 25th of October, 1402. He died on the 31st of August, 1407, at Charlton, in Kent, and was buried at Leedes, in that county.—Hardy's *Le Neve*; Stubbs. He is not mentioned as Lord High Treasurer by Foss; but see Richardson's *Godwin*, ii. 162, who gives us for authority I. Pat. 4 Hen. IV. m. 24.



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legiate church of Wilton, by provision, whenever they might become vacant. In 1403 he had a canonry in Lincoln Cathedral. In 1404, he exchanged the arch-deaconry for the chancellorship of Salisbury; the living of Odiham, in Hampshire, being thrown in. He held also a prebend in the church of Shaftesbury. From William de Ferrars, lord Groby, he received the rectory of Brington, in the diocese of Lincoln. By the Earl of Worcester and Sir Hugh le Despencer, joint patrons, he was presented to the living of Melcomb, which he exchanged for that of Sherston, both in the diocese of Salisbury.\*

As rising barristers, in these days, seek to acquire fortunes, that they may have wherewithal to support their dignity, if raised to a peerage, so it was no sign of an avaricious disposition on the part of Chicheley when he thus accumulated preferments. He was generous and liberal, as his future conduct showed. But he was ambitious; and if he were to take part in the affairs of state, it was necessary, that he should possess the means of serving the king without making demands upon the royal treasury. The king's ministers were expected, for the most part, to support themselves; or if they required remuneration, it was provided through those ecclesiastical appointments which were at the king's disposal.

Chicheley was now in a condition to become a candidate for public office. The date of his first appointment is in July, 1406, so that his rise had been slow; and this we must attribute to his connexion with the fallen dynasty. Both Bishop Mitford and Bishop de

\* I believe I have mentioned all his preferments; they were so numerous that the search for them is laborious. See Hardy's *Le Neve*, Stubbs, Spencer, Tanner, and the numerous authorities cited by these writers.

Mona had been ministers under King Richard II.; and that to the last Chicheley retained the esteem of the Bishop of Salisbury, is proved by his having been appointed by the bishop to act as his executor, and by his receiving under his will, as a token of his patron's regard, a golden goblet. But both Dr. Chicheley and perhaps the two bishops had sent in their adhesion to the king *de facto*, when Richard's cause was hopeless; and an attachment to Richard would not have militated against the doctor's character, provided that he acquiesced in the will of parliament when Henry of Lancaster was elected king.

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Chicheley's first mission was to Pope Innocent VII., when he was associated with Sir John Cheyne.* The expense of the embassy was defrayed by Dr. Chicheley, and the object was chiefly to establish friendly relations between the English and the papal courts. It did not detain him long, but he so far satisfied the king that, on the 5th of October, he was employed to negotiate a peace between France and England.† Another embassy to the papal court in the following year was to be headed by Guy, bishop of St. David's; the bishop was, however, too unwell to proceed on the mission, and obtained the appointment of Dr. Chicheley as his deputy.‡ Thus was Chicheley again associated with Cheyne in an embassy to Pope Gregory XII., the pope who was at that time acknowledged in England. The ostensible object was merely, as before, to establish friendly relations between the papal court and that of Henry IV. But a person so observant as Chicheley, was not appointed without a further object; and that object was, to ascertain and report upon the state of public opinion in Italy.

* *Fœdera* (viii. 446, orig. ed.), iv. 100.

† *Ibid.* viii. 452 (orig. ed.).

‡ *Ibid.* viii. 479.

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The affairs of the Roman see and court, affecting more or less every national church in Europe, were now coming to a crisis. The reader must here be reminded of the course of events up to this time. We have seen the miserable position of ecclesiastical affairs during what has been called the Babylonish exile, when the papacy became the tool of French intrigue. After the Curia had returned to Rome, then to the Babylonish captivity succeeded the papal schism. On the death of Gregory XI., who, in 1377, had re-established the papacy at Rome, the people of Rome compelled the cardinals to elect an Italian pope, Urban VI. The French party in the conclave, after a time, declared that appointment void, and elected a Frenchman, Clement VII., who once more fixed the papal residence at Avignon. After this was exhibited to Europe, for more than thirty years, the spectacle of two men, sometimes even of three, assuming to be successors of St. Peter and the representatives upon earth of God Most High, who hurled against each other anathemas the most awful, and invoked the horrors of war in the name of the Prince of Peace.

Against these abuses all parties were now protesting; and a demand was made for a reform which should reach the head as well as its members. All parties also were in a condition to combine. Hitherto co-operation between France and England had been a thing impossible. What had attached the French to the papacy, had alienated the people of England from the pope. We have seen how anti-papal England had become while the popes resided at Avignon. Although the anti-papal spirit had, in some measure, subsided when the papal court was re-established at Rome, there was still a residuum of discontent in England; while every movement, which tended in one direction,

on this side of the Channel, had an opposite tendency in France. The removal of the papal court to Italy had rendered that court unpopular in France. The fact of the French having started an opposition pope, did not mend matters, for they shared with other nations in the inconvenience resulting from the doubt, whether the pope they served was, after all, any pope at all. The re-establishment of the papal court at Rome, while an opposition papacy was in existence, rendered the discontent in the position of public affairs, as great in Italy as it was in any other part of the world. For Italy had been kept in a state of incessant warfare; and, on either side, the treasury had been exhausted by the profligate expenditure of rival courts, which ought to have been models of purity, but were found to be sinks of corruption.

After much fruitless negotiation, the cardinals, on both sides, became weary of this state of things; and they called upon the two popes to resign their pretensions and to permit a third person, acceptable to both parties, to be elected to the papal throne.

Of the rival popes, Gregory XII. was the one whom England acknowledged; or, as the phrase was, England was in the obedience of Gregory XII. Angelo Corrario was now demolishing the high character which fourscore years of an upright and consistent career had built up. In his old age, the tiara was conferred upon him under a pledge, fortified by an oath, that he would at once resign the papacy, if by so doing peace could be restored to the Church. By this stipulation he now refused to abide; and the indignation of his former supporters in Italy was freely expressed when the English embassy arrived at Rome.*

* When we hear that the court of Gregory XII., who for more than threescore years and ten lived an ascetic, was one of the most

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There was a desire on the part of the pope to conciliate the English; and to England, probably, he felt an attachment for the support always given to the Italian in opposition to the French pope. When the proposal was made to him, that he should resign the papacy, he reserved to himself, in the event of his doing so, the titular dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople, with certain benefices to be held *in commendam*, and among them the archbishopric of York,—intending, probably, to take up his abode in this country. This was, so far as England was concerned, a popular act.

While Chicheley was at the papal court, the news arrived of the death of his patron, Guy, bishop of St. David's. Chicheley had received the promise of the bishopric from the king, in the event of its becoming vacant while he was absent discharging the duties of the embassy, and acting as the deputy of Guy Mohun.* To be consecrated by the pope was regarded as an honour as great as it was rare, and Chicheley felt sure, that his court would be pleased if he applied to the pope for consecration. The pope complied with his request; but, instead of receiving the nomination from the king, he appointed Chicheley to the bishopric by provision. There are, therefore, two ways in which

luxurious in Europe; when we find an upright man, in extreme old age, alienating, in favour of his nephews, some of the great estates in the Roman church, and, with one foot in the grave, incurring the guilt of perjury, we are inclined to give credit to the report, that the old man was in the hands of his nephews, and was only partially responsible for his wrong doings. His court was luxurious in the extreme, and either he or his nephews had a sinful relish for sweet things. In the single article of sugar, Gregory's household expenses exceeded the entire charge for food and raiment of any of his predecessors. See Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, xiii. 75 (ed. Mil. 1818-21).

* *Henrici Quarti opera Episcopatus Menevensis præficatur anno 1409. Godwin, i. 126.*

this appointment is mentioned. Sometimes it is mentioned as the gift of the king, sometimes as the provision of the pope; and possibly some document may be discovered in which it is alluded to as the election of the chapter. This is in accordance with what we have seen to have been the usual custom at this period, when all parties claimed their own rights without thinking it necessary to contest the oppugning claims of others. The king said he nominated, because in the *cong   d'  lire* he named the clerk to be elected; the chapter said they elected, though they chose the royal nominee; and when the pope confirmed the nominee of the Crown, he issued a bull of provision. This system, which involved a fearful amount of perjury, continued till the Reformation, and must be recollected by those who would form a right decision in the case of Cranmer, when of his case we shall have to speak. It was on the 17th of June that Chicheley was consecrated, the pope officiating.* The new bishop started almost immediately on his return to England, and he reached this country on the 28th of the following August.

There had been, in the meantime, precautions taken and consultations held, with the object in view of preventing the establishment of any precedent on the part of the pope, which might in any way prejudice the rights, privileges, and independence of the English church and realm. The first thing which the bishop had to do, after his arrival in England, was to make oath of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury; and it was not till then that he was invested with the spiritualities of the see of St. David's. He then did homage to the king in the usual form; and solemnly renounced all title to the temporalities of his bishopric

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* Stubbs, p. 62 (from MS. Tanner, 146).

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by any right accruing to him from his consecration by the pope. He was made, according to custom, to repudiate every expression in the bull of provision, which could be construed to the prejudice of the Crown. These were, with the exception of one, the forms always observed; but from the circumstances in which Chicheley stood, they received a peculiar significance.

The Bishop of St. David's had no time to be enthroned, or to visit his diocese; for almost immediately after his return to England, he was again employed on public business. He had communicated with his government on the state of affairs in Italy, and on the domestic influence which was brought to bear on the aged pope, to induce him, through perjury, to retain the papal throne. The guilt of perjury was, in this instance, increased by the fact of his creating cardinals contrary to the oath he had taken, that, during his temporary occupancy of the see, no new cardinals should be made.

Before Chicheley's return to England, on the 23d of July, 1408, the Archbishop of Canterbury had convened a synod to adopt measures for the union of the Universal Church, endangered by the schisms of the Church of Rome. On Sunday, July the 28th, the king, going in great state to the Chapter-house at St. Paul's, had met the clergy, and was informed by them, that another embassy would be sent to Gregory XII. to announce the determination of the Church of England to transmit no money to Rome, until the schism in the papacy had ceased. The king gave his sanction to the resolution, which was also adopted by the two Houses of Parliament. A letter to this effect was despatched in the king's name both to the pope and to the cardinals.*

* Walsingham, Y. N. p. 569 (ed. 1603). In the determination

A deputation not long after arrived in England from the cardinals. It was a grand anti-papal movement. The deputation was headed by the Archbishop of Bordeaux. The cardinals revived and re-asserted the primitive principle, that a general council is superior to the pope ; and that the authority of the Church resides in a general council. They proposed, therefore, by that authority, to depose both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and to elect another pontiff, not by the conclave but by the council. The legation met with an enthusiastic reception in England ; its members were entertained at the public expense, and the king received them with great cordiality and magnificence in Westminster Hall.

On the 14th of the following January, the archbishop held another synod to appoint delegates to represent the Church of England at the Œcumenical Synod, which the cardinals had summoned to meet at Pisa. Henry Chicheley, bishop of St. David's, was one of the delegates now appointed. At the head of the embassy was Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury,* while the king

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not to send money to Rome till the schism should be concluded, the Convocation of York agreed.

* Robert Hallam was Rector of Northfield, Kent. On the 6th of June, 1399, he was collated to a prebend in York Cathedral. On the 7th April, 1400, he became Archdeacon of Canterbury. In 1403 he was Chancellor of Oxford. He was appointed, by papal provision, to the see of York ; but the king being offended by the papal intrusion, and threatening to withhold the temporalities, a compromise took place, and instead of being consecrated Metropolitan of the North, he became Bishop of Salisbury. When the pope had yielded, he was permitted to appoint him by provision, though this was against the law, and probably the king regarded the bishop as his nominee. He was consecrated by Gregory XII. himself at Sienna, in the year 1407. The king restored the temporalities to him on the 1st of December. He took the oath of obedience to the king (which nullified a secular oath he had taken to the pope) at Maidstone, on the 28th of March following. He headed the mission

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was represented by the Earl of Suffolk. They were associated with many divines and doctors, who were to appear in behalf of various orders and institutions, the interests of which might possibly be compromised by the proceedings of the Council.*

The embassy was conducted on a scale of great magnificence; and met with a cordial and splendid reception at Paris from the celebrated Gerson, chancellor of the University, who was the life and soul of the movement. The arrival of the English ambassadors at Paris was in itself both significant and important. The two great parties by whom the Western Church had been divided, were now seen in close alliance, ready to co-operate—the party of Gregory XII. represented by the Church of England, and the party of Benedict XIII. to whose obedience France had hitherto adhered.

Gerson† was a great reformer, though he differed to Pisa, and was delegate of the Church of England, at the Council of Constance. On the 6th of June, 1411, he was nominated a cardinal of the Church of Rome, under the title of St. Chrysogonus. He died at Constance on the 4th of September, 1417.—Reg. Arundel. Hardy's *Le Neve*; Stubbs.

* The narrative of the proceedings in connexion with this mission may be found in the "*Continuatio Eulogii*," iii. 412; Reg. Arundel MS.; Wilkins, iii. 306—314.

In the last session of the Council of Pisa, Alexander V. confirmed all the preceding acts, and some decrees were made for the correction of the more glaring abuses which had been brought to light, though the prosecution of further reforms was deferred. The aged pope was entirely under the guidance of Cardinal Cassa, a man of depraved character, who afterwards became pope, under the title of John XXIII. On him the horrible suspicion rests that he poisoned Alexander V. when the pope could no longer be of service to the ambitious cardinal.

† For an account of Gerson, and the proceedings at Paris, the reader is referred to the introductory chapter of this book. John Charlier de Gerson was born in the year 1363, at Gerson, in the

from the reformers of the sixteenth century, in that he held the necessity of a visible head of the Church. He addressed the English ambassadors in a sermon, which may still be read in his works. He chose the appropriate text, Hosea i. 11. It will amply repay the student who may be inclined to peruse it.

Whether by accident or by design, the embassy from the Church of England did not reach Pisa before the Council was in session. Its arrival created a great sensation, and when the members of the synod went forth in solemn procession to meet our representatives, they were attended by the whole population. It must have been a splendid sight to see assembled under the dark blue Italian sky—in that lawn-like meadow which is sanctified by the Duomo, the Baptistry, the Campanile, and the Church of the Campo Santo—the representatives of all that Europe held of noble, and great, and godly. Such were those assembled, though they were intermingled—as in this world must always be the case—with what was base and sordid.*

diocese of Rheims, and was educated in the college of Navarre at Paris, of which university he was chancellor in 1395. At the Councils of Rheims, Pisa, and Constance, he distinguished himself as a reformer. When the Council of Constance broke up, in 1418, he did not venture to return to Paris, where the Duke of Burgundy was in power, but travelled through Germany and Switzerland, and at last settled at Lyons, where he died in 1429. His works are numerous, and the perusal of them is important to the student who wishes to understand the feelings of the age. See Du Pin, *Gersoniana*, lib. iv., prefixed to his edition of Gerson's works; Herm. von der Hardt, *Acta Concilii Const.*; and *L'Enfant*.

* The reader is referred to the following works for this interesting portion of history:—*Vetera Acta Concilii Pisani, et ad illud spectantia*, in D'Achery, *Spicilegio*, t. i. pp. 803-862; *Harduini Acta Concilior.* vii. 1929-1962, and viii. 1-204; *Bonifacii Ferrerii, Tract. pro Defensione Benedicti XIII.*, in Martene, *Thesaur.* ii. 1435; *Poggii Bracciolini, Historia Florentina*, ed. Recanato, Venet. 1715, 4to *Theodorici a Niem, Vita Johannis XXIII.* in H. von der

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The corruptions of the Church were unmercifully exposed, and let us hope that, by party feeling, they were exaggerated. The demand for a reformation in the head and members of the Church was reiterated. In the fifteenth session the two reigning popes were proved to be incorrigible heretics and obstinate schismatics. They were deprived of all their ecclesiastical rights and dignities, and finally the two popes were solemnly excommunicated. On the 15th of June, the papacy being now vacant, the cardinals entered into conclave, and on the 26th of that month Peter Filargo, a native of Candia, was elected pope. From a Franciscan prior Peter had risen to be Archbishop of Milan, and was at this time a cardinal. He was a good and pious, though, as the sequel proved, a weak man, unfitted by age and character for the high post to which he was elevated as Alexander V.

Into a more detailed account of the Council of Pisa—a very inviting subject—I am prevented from entering, as Chicheley bore only a subordinate part in the English embassy. Still it is important to observe the principles now asserted, as they are those to which Chicheley had given a cordial assent; and we may thus regard him as a reformer, though his notions of a reformation extended only to the discipline, and not at all to the doctrine of the Church.

The Bishop of St. David's soon after his consecration was involved in a lawsuit, the pleadings in which throw light on the manners and feelings of the age. The question arose whether the prebend in Salisbury conferred upon Chicheley by Bishop Mitford, was not by his consecration *ipso facto* void. The king claimed

Hardt, Concil. Constant., t. ii. p. xv.; Joh. Gersonii, De Modis uniendi et reformandi Ecclesiam in Concilio Universali, opp. t. ii. p. ii.; L'Enfant, Histoire du Concile de Pise; Döllinger, iv. 148.

to present to the stall as vacant, and a writ of *quare impedit* was directed against the Bishop of Salisbury (Hallam) and the Bishop of St. David's. The case was argued in the Michaelmas term, 1409. It was pleaded by his counsel for Chicheley: "We continued in possession of the prebend after Richard Hallam had received the temporalities at the hand of the king. Subsequently to which and before we were created Bishop of St. David's, St. Peter the Apostle, reciting by his bulls, that we were elected Bishop of St. David's, granted us licence to enjoy all other benefices." It was observed by Chief Justice Thirning, "The grant of the apostle cannot change the law of the land." Hankford, one of the counsel, replied, "*Papa omnia potest*," and referred to certain precedents. These precedents the Chief Justice refused indignantly to examine. "Neither," said he, "will I enter upon an abstract question as to the power of the apostle; all I can say is, that I cannot see how he, by any bull of his, can change the law of England." In the course of the pleadings, Culpeper, another of the counsel for the Crown, referring to the statute law on the subject, remarks, "that the statute under consideration was enacted for the express purpose of protecting the king and other patrons in their rights, and of restraining the encroachments which the apostle makes against the law." The court was divided in opinion as to the treatment of the case, but the Chief Justice was determined to uphold the common law of England against the encroachments of the apostle, and to maintain the right of patrons to present, *non obstante* any papal dispensation. After much discussion the counsel for the bishop, acting under his direction, gave way, and judgment was given for the Crown.*

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* See Year-Book, Anno 11 Hen. IV. pp. 37, 59, 76. The reader

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Chicheley had at this time, and probably during the progress of the trial, determined to retire from the toils and anxieties of public life—and to retire to his Welsh diocese, there to devote his mind to the sacred duties of his episcopal office. Under such circumstances wealth would not be required, and he desired to free himself from those cares in which such a multiplicity of preferments could not fail to involve him. He resolved to resign them all. But when he had determined upon this step, the business was again complicated by papal claims, opposed, as they were, both to the common and statute law of the realm. The dispensation to hold so many preferments *in commendam* had been granted by the pope, and by the pope the dispensation must be cancelled; there was no difficulty in obtaining a bull to this effect, but to introduce that bull into England without the royal consent would subject the bishop to the penalties of the *præmunire*. In consequence, a royal mandate was to be obtained, containing a *non obstante* clause with reference to the statute of *præmunire*.* The bishop reserved to himself the right of nominating his successors, that he might have the means of remunerating, before his retirement, his dependants and relations. The chancellorship of Salisbury he gave to William Chicheley, his nephew, who did honour to the appointment.†

The bishop could not carry his intention to retire immediately into effect; for, in the year 1410, he was again employed on a foreign embassy with Sir John Cheyne, Dr. Catryk, and Henry lord Beaumont, in

will remember that in all disputes the papal claims were put forth in the name of the Apostle Peter.

* Printed in the *Fœdera*, viii. 632 (28th April, 1410).

† Pref. to *Stem. Chichel.* p. x.

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negotiating the continuance of a truce already existing between this country and France.* The reader will remember that, ever since the infraction of the treaty of Brétigny, this country was at war with France. The question now had not a reference to peace. The King of England, whether right or wrong, was a pretender to the French throne. When the French declared the treaty of Brétigny void, Edward III. reserved the title of King of France, which he had before set aside; and although there was, from time to time, a suspension of arms, it was only through truces, in which the rights of either party were reserved. Throughout the negotiations in which Chicheley was concerned, Charles VI. was only spoken of as our Adversary of France, "*Adversarium nostrum Franciæ*." It is not improbable that the rights of the respective sovereigns were mooted among the ambassadors, and that Chicheley had recourse to those arguments in relation to the Salic law, which Hall, the chronicler, on another occasion put into his mouth. It is certain that Chicheley took notes of what was said and done when he was engaged in this embassy.

At length the happy hour arrived when the Bishop of St. David's might visit his diocese. He repaired to St. David's in 1411, and on the 20th of May he was enthroned.† His residence was such as he desired; not a castle with tower and moat, and frowning gateway, but a mansion described as "unsurpassed by any English edifice of the kind," unpretending and comfortable, yet perfectly secure, being situated in the midst of a fortified close.

On the death of Henry IV. however, Chicheley was recalled to the court. The young king, his successor,

* *Fœdera*, viii. 637 (20th May, 1410).

† *MS. Tanner*, 146.

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was desirous of knowing the precise terms of the late truce with France, and having been informed that the Bishop of St. David's had taken notes of all the proceedings, summoned him into the royal presence. The clear-headedness, straightforward and business-like habits of Chicheley made a deep impression upon the observant mind of Henry ; and we may date from this time, a friendship between the prelate and the king, which terminated only with the royal hero's life.

That Chicheley did not urge the king to rush madly upon an invasion of France, is proved by the fact that, in conjunction with the Earl of Warwick and the Lord de la Zouch, he was despatched on an embassy suggested by himself, to the Duke of Burgundy, with a view of prolonging the truce.\*

The Bishop of St. David's had once more determined on retirement from public life. The primacy became vacant in 1414 by the death of Archbishop Arundel. To Chicheley's mortification and surprise, a deputation waited upon him from the chapter of Canterbury, to say that he had been unanimously elected as Arundel's successor. Immediately on the late archbishop's death the king issued a *congé d'élire* to the chapter, accompanied by a letter missive, requiring them to elect the Bishop of St. David's. The deputation now informed the bishop that they had immediately and unanimously obeyed the royal command ; and so popular was Chicheley, that, when to the crowd which filled the nave it was signified that Chicheley was to be the new archbishop, the announcement was received with enthusiastic applause.

There is a class of mind, not of very exalted character, which, when a man rejects the offer of high place in Church or State, looks out for some low and

\* *Fœdera*, ix. 34 (14th July, 1413).

sordid motive for the refusal. Others can suppose it possible that Chicheley may have felt that "better is a handful with quietness, than both hands full with travail and vexation of spirit."

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He reminded the deputation, in the usual form, that a bishop being wedded to his church, can only be divorced by a papal dispensation; that for that dispensation they must postulate, and that in the postulation he would take no part. In the confused state of things at that time in the Church, there was always a chance that there might at any time be a hitch in the appointment. The chapter claimed to elect, the king claimed to nominate, the pope claimed to translate by provision. The chapter denied the right of the Crown to nominate, the Crown denied the right of the chapter to elect or the pope to provide. All parties, reserving their own rights, yielded to the king when the government was strong. And so now the election took place on the 4th of March, under a *congé d'élire* from the king, the king's nominee being elected. The royal assent to the election was given on the 23d of March. The bull of provision was issued on the 27th of April. The temporalities were restored by the king on the 30th of May. The pall was delivered to the primate by the bishops of Winchester and Norwich on the 24th of July.\*

The celebrated Lyndwood, in dedicating the Provinciale to Archbishop Chicheley, styles him, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury; and Somner shows that the same style had been used by his predecessor Ethelhard, six hundred years before. By degrees the form "by the grace of God" was confined to kings, and the style of our archbishops was changed into *by Divine providence* or *by Divine permission*. But still arch-

\* Reg. Chich. fol. 2; Hardy's Le Neve.



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bishops and dukes retained the form when addressed, and were entitled each to be called, your Grace.\*

In what remains to be said of Chicheley, we shall present him to the reader, first as a statesman, and then in the character in which he is still revered, that of a munificent prelate.

I. When Chicheley was first called to the councils of King Henry V. the country, through the bad government of Richard II. and the weak government of Henry IV. had been reduced to a condition the most deplorable. Discontent was universal. The merchants complained that the coasts were infested by French privateers and pirates. The inland trade was impeded by robbers, who were too often supported by profligate young nobles, who shared in the spoils, and sometimes, for a freak, joined in these acts of aggression. The nobles themselves were a constant terror to the king. Never since the reign of Stephen had they been more powerful, and not even in Stephen's day were they so independent of the government. They were almost irresistible; for they no longer consisted of numerous small barons, acting independently, and warring upon one another: the power was now in the hands of a few great earls, who overawed the lesser barons, and in whose service those barons were often contented to hold subordinate offices.

These nobles, approaching to the position, in modern times, of the petty princes of Germany, became the more powerful, from the insecure basis on which the throne itself stood. The people had acquiesced in the will of the parliament—though it was a parliament clad in armour—when the crown was given to the popular Henry of Bolingbroke. But though Henry

\* See Somner (ed. Battely), p. 136; and Selden's *Titles of Honor* (ed. 1631), part i. chap. vii. sect. 2, an interesting chapter.

was a member of the house of Cerdic, and although the rights of primogeniture were not fully established except among the heralds, the kings of the house of Lancaster were quite aware that, if they lost their popularity, the claims of the Earl of March to the throne on the ground of hereditary right, would alter the complexion of any resistance offered to their government, and afford a plea to rebels for assuming the title of patriots. It was this feeling which paralysed the strong arm of Henry IV., and it was by the cares that came upon him from this state of affairs, that he was brought to an untimely grave.

To add to the difficulties of the government, lollardism, which, under Wiclif, had been a religious movement, and had scarcely developed itself into a sect, had now become a political faction. With the cant of religion on the lips of many who were hypocrites, and with the real feelings of religion inflamed into fanaticism in others, all discontent now assumed the name of lollardism; and among the aristocracy there were some who, incapable of distinction, when a competition among their equals was high, sought the pabulum for their vanity in the plaudits of puritanism.

At the head of the lollards, in this reign, was Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife's barony, claimed to be called Lord Cobham. He was, as Lord Cobham, in a disputable if not a false position, a position no longer in any way recognised by the constitution. A man in such a position, aspiring to the dignities of the aristocracy, but looked down upon by the ancient aristocrats, was sure to be discontented, and was prepared to place himself at the head of a discontented faction. He is regarded by some as a saint, and of his secret piety it is impossible for us to speak; we can only hope and, in the absence of proof, believe,

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that he was a good man. The facts of his life, as revealed in history, present him to us simply as a demagogue. We have seen, in the life of Arundel, that he endured hardship for the sake of his principles or his vanity. His conduct at that time, and when he was under examination, whether regarded as insolent or as courageous, according to the standing-point from which his character is viewed, rendered it impossible for the authorities not to commit him to the Tower. But, whether from pity or from policy, the king and the archbishop are supposed to have connived at the escape of one with whom they found it difficult to deal.\*

At all events, his escape from the Tower was effected; and he fled to Wales, the fastnesses of which were at this period of our history the usual receptacle for the discontented. In the lovely vallies of Wales, amid scenes which raise the mind from the contemplation of nature up to the worship of nature's God, the fervour of piety might be freely indulged by those who viewed with contempt the ceremonial which, with the same object in view, was now assuming an unwonted splendour in the newly-built cathedrals by which England was adorned. But Oldecastle's piety was not satisfied with security; his principles were to be propagated. Charity required that the weaker professors of godliness should be protected, and that the magistrates, regarded as persecutors, should be restrained if not coerced. A proclamation already issued against the lollards by Henry V., their

\* According to the belief of some of his contemporaries, he was supposed to be indebted for his escape to demoniacal agency :—

"Has capit inducias in turri Londoniarum ;  
Rumpens vincla fugit dæmonis artis ope.  
Hinc antris latitat clam perquirendo favorem,  
In Lavacri luce concipiendo dolum."

Elmham, p. 97.

keen opponent, rendered it important to show that no persecutions would avail against those who predicated godliness exclusively of themselves, and who regarded the rest of the world as *nefarii et perditii homines*. In the year preceding Chicheley's translation to the primacy, Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, was in open rebellion.

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The most alarming reports reached the metropolis. Oldcastle was said to be marching upon London at the head of twenty-five thousand men. The army, or mob, increased as it advanced—*crescit eundo*. It was announced, that the intention was to capture the king, to put his present counsellors to the sword, to constitute Oldcastle his minister,—and to make Oldcastle, in short, *de facto* king. It had always been the policy, in all risings of the people, to distinguish between the king and his ministers. But there was now on the throne a man determined to rule as well as to reign.

When the news of the insurrection reached London, the king was at Eltham. He was quite unprepared for resistance. He had no standing army. He could not summon his nobles immediately to his rescue. Many of them were engaged in protecting their own domains. His own retainers could not, on a sudden, be assembled in any great numbers. It was by no means certain how far he would be supported by the Londoners. Within the city the lollards were sure to find many sympathisers, though, to defend their property, the citizens might be induced to resist them.

But with the determination and discretion by which he was characterised in after life, the young king immediately removed to Westminster. He could not trust himself within the walls of the city; but he gave orders that the gates should be closed and guarded.

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The king was informed, that a communication had been opened between some of the discontented in the city and neighbourhood of London, and the lollards now in open rebellion. He discovered that Ficket Fields was to be the rendezvous: a well-chosen spot, lying in the suburbs of St. Giles's.

Henry ordered his friends to arm, and to meet him at night, when they would receive his orders. At night they came; and the king stated it to be his intention to make an immediate attack upon the enemy. The future hero was as yet untried as well as young, and some presumed to tender their advice, that he should wait until he could muster his troops, or at all events till break of day,—in order that he might then discover who, among the assembled people, would be willing, when appealed to, to give him their support. But Henry V. was born to command. He had summoned his friends not to give him counsel, but to obey his orders. There must be no delay. He was the more urgent for immediate measures; for, while to the sordid among the lollards the plunder of the castles of the nobles and the mansions of the merchants was held out to encourage them to acts of violence, as in the case of Wat Tyler's insurrection, the more sincere and determined among the religionists were lured to the attack upon London and Westminster, by the prospect held forth of a conflagration of St. Paul's Cathedral and of Westminster Abbey.

The king gave the word of command. His troops marched, in the middle of the night, in silence to St. Giles's, with the object of anticipating the projected movement on the following day.

Only a few of the malcontents had assembled. These were asked the reason of their being at this place at this time of night, and they gave answer that they

were waiting for Lord Cobham. They were immediately seized and imprisoned. The captured persons, in great alarm, made a full confession of the treasonable designs of the lollard party. The decided measures in a night attack, adopted by the king, spread dismay among the insurgents. They fled, and the king's troops were employed not so much in fighting as in pursuing them and making them prisoners. The conduct of the king, considering the character of the times, when death was the penalty for almost every offence however trivial, was merciful. Some of the prisoners were executed, but the greater number were pardoned. When we remember, that after Wat Tyler's insurrection there were 1,500 executions throughout the country, we must admit that the lollards were dealt with more leniently than we should have expected. Cobham, for the second time, made his escape.\*

That the lollards, though hostile to the Church, were regarded, at this time, chiefly as enemies to the State, may be seen from the proclamation which offered a reward for the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle,—so styled, and not Lord Cobham. After a brief allusion to the heretical tenets of the lollards, Sir John and his party are condemned for attempting the destruction of the king's person, and the estates of the lords and magnates of the realm.†

On the 28th of March, another proclamation‡ was

\* At a later period, according to Otterbourne and Walsingham, when Henry was employed in his wars abroad, Cobham entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, and invited them to invade England. This statement is fully confirmed by the various items of information which the reader will find in the Parl. Rolls.

† The proclamation may be found in *Fœdera*, ix. 89 (11th Jan. 1413-14). I had translated it, but it is too long for transcription, as it only indirectly concerns Chicheley.

‡ *Fœdera*, ix. 119.

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issued, granting a general amnesty to all who, before the feast of St. John Baptist, should apply for pardon, with twelve exceptions, and among them of course Sir John Oldcastle. Another proclamation appeared on the 20th of May,\* which is interesting from the circumstance, that the occupations of the leading persons concerned in lollardy are given: there were as many clergymen as goldsmiths, plumbers, fleshers, coopers, weavers, hosiers, and honey-mongers. A further proclamation appeared in November,—all tending to show the great reluctance of the Government to have recourse to extreme measures. In the latter it is expressly charged upon the lollards, that they had determined to put to death the peers, the prelates, and other magnates of the land, and to constitute John Oldcastle, of Couling, in the county of Kent, regent of the realm.† Into the history of this insurrection I have entered at some length, because it bears indirectly upon an important part of Chicheley's history.

The chronicler, Halle, writing in the reign of Henry

\* *Fœdera*, ix. 129.

† *Ibid.* ix. 170 (6th Nov. 1414). Oldcastle remained in concealment, and lived as an outlaw, until the year 1417. Parliament was sitting at that time, and as soon as it was reported that the common enemy was taken, it was agreed that parliament should not be dissolved until he were brought to his trial. On his trial, he was condemned as a traitor, and excommunicated as a heretic. The terrible sentence was pronounced that for his treason he should be hanged, and for heresy be burned. I am aware that Oldcastle is regarded as a Protestant martyr; the authorities generally being Bale and Foxe. Bale's account of him may be seen in the second volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*. "Foul-mouthed Bale," as he is called by Anthony Wood, was not more tolerant than Foxe towards those from whom he differed. I have only given the facts as they occur in Walsingham, and the contemporary authorities.

VIII., asserts that, in the parliament which met at Leicester on the 30th of April, the lollards were all powerful; that they proposed to confiscate the property of the Church for the service of the king and his nobles; and that to avert this evil Chicheley, with Machiavellian policy, proposed the French war.

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Now, it is to be observed that, although it is true that the parliament did not meet till the 30th of April, yet the writs to summon it were, nevertheless, issued on the 29th of January; that is to say, they were issued at the very time, when London and Westminster were in a state of disturbance. The parliament was summoned to meet, not at Westminster as was usual, but at Leicester, evidently because it was inexpedient if not dangerous, at that time, to invite a large concourse of people to the metropolis threatened by the lollards.

When the parliament at last was opened at Leicester, what were the first measures adopted? Precisely those which we should have expected. A statute against the lollards was introduced, not by the clergy, but by the laity, alarmed, as all men were, at the late proceedings in London. At the very time when, according to Halle, who wrote at the end of the reign of Henry VIII., the lollards were introducing a Bill to rob the clergy, an act of parliament was actually passed for "the extirpation of the heretics called lollards." The chancellor, the treasurer, the justices of one bench or of the other, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers, within their respective jurisdictions, were armed with extraordinary powers for the express purpose of suppressing the lollards. The punishment for the first offence was comparatively light, but a relapsed heretic was to be



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hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God.\* An act was also passed against riotous meetings and unlawful assemblies: rioters, attainted of great and heinous riots, were to suffer one year's imprisonment, without bail or main-prize; and those who were found guilty of lesser riots were to suffer imprisonment as long as the king and his council should think fit.

The clergy were not particularly influential in this parliament, or, if they were, they saw the wisdom of yielding to public opinion. A measure was adopted against one of the crying evils of the day—the encroachments of the spiritual courts upon the rights and jurisdiction of the courts of the king. As the clergy were retiring from the common law courts, driven out by lay lawyers, they were endeavouring to enlarge the powers of the ecclesiastical courts; and an act was now passed to make the court Christian subordinate, in certain respects, to civil courts of the realm.†

There is no record of any speech made by Chicheley at this parliament; we search for it in vain in the rolls of parliament, and in the history of the Privy Council. Walsingham and Hardyng and other contemporary writers are silent upon the subject. And as for Chicheley's advising, in this imaginary speech, and in this conservative parliament, a war with France to counteract the machinations of the lollards, who had just rendered themselves odious to the great body of the nobles, and particularly to the king, we can prove the negative; for we happen to know that, nine months before the meeting of parliament,

\* Statutes at Large, 2 Hen. V. Stat. i. c. 7.

† Ibid. c. 3.

that is, in August, 1413, the war with France was regarded as a thing inevitable.\*

It is to be remarked, in justice to Chicheley, that if he was animated by a strong spirit of hostility to the lollards, which we do not deny, he certainly was not more so than were the lay nobles of the day, and perhaps much less so than the great king himself. Among the episcopal statesmen there was not to be found one more zealous in the cause of what he regarded as orthodoxy, than King Henry V. His zeal in the cause of the Church he evinced, as we have already seen, even while he was only Prince of Wales: and it certainly did not diminish, when he became King. Short as his reign was, and hard pressed as he was for money, he found time and means to found three monasteries; two of them for Augustins and Carthusians near his palace at Sheen. To Westminster Abbey he was a benefactor so liberal as to evoke expressions of gratitude from his anonymous panegyrist; and on all occasions he went out of his way to set an example to his people of devotion in his religious duties.†

There may be a controversy between party zeal and Christian charity, as to whether Henry was animated by a spirit of superstition or of piety. On such a point the Searcher of hearts can alone decide, and the final

\* No notice would have been taken of what was adduced by Halle, for a display of his own rhetoric, if such splendid use of it had not been made by Shakspeare in the first scene of Henry V. In Henry VIII.'s time Halle, a staunch protestant, supposed Chicheley to have been influenced by those sectarian feelings, which, though in an opposite direction, influenced himself. But this was an anachronism. Chicheley took the political, not the sectarian view of the subject, which had not yet come into existence, or existed only, except among the lollards, in a slight degree.

† See Versus Rhythmici de Hen. V. 69—73.

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judgment will be given before a tribunal, at which, the judgment of those courts below, at which spiritual pride presides, will often be reversed.

That Chicheley, however, was a decided advocate for the war is certain; and that he may have supported it, at some period of his life, by arguments now held insufficient and weak, is highly probable. In the progress of civilization and under a purer form of Christianity, when a character for philanthropy has a marketable value, we have been taught to regard war as, at all times, a calamity; and, except when it is unavoidable, as a sin. In the days of Chicheley it was looked upon by some, as an aristocratic pastime; by others, as a means, through the ransoming of prisoners, of amassing fortunes in a manner more honourable than by trade; and even philanthropy had this to say, that, by service in war, the serf might be freed from bondage, and the son of the villain might become a gentleman.

Chicheley would have none of that horror of war which, even in modern times, has sometimes been overcome by an ambition on the part of the young to achieve the honours, which a state of warfare still holds out. With Chicheley and those who discussed subjects of war with him, the question of policy and expediency could alone be broached.

They looked to the state of England. The whole country was as a barrel of gunpowder, and an accidental spark might, at any moment, cause an explosion. The peace of the country only existed in the fact, that no leader of importance was, at this time, prepared to raise the standard of revolt. The standard once raised, hundreds were prepared to rally around it; and if a civil war was begun, who could say where it would end? The Lancastrian king only remained upon his

throne in peace, because the Earl of March was not strong enough to contend with him; and because also there were so many nobles with royal blood in their veins, that each thought, if the present dynasty was overthrown, he might have a chance of obtaining the crown. They were lukewarm on the question of legitimacy; while the people at large admitted the right of the parliament to remove the crown from an unworthy head, and to assign it to any member of the royal house.

It had strongly forced itself upon the sagacious mind of Henry IV., that the only way to avert the threatening miseries of a civil war—for such a war, war on English soil, was, even then, regarded as a calamity,—was by finding warlike employment for the discontented of all classes of the community in foreign parts. He knew the love of the English for military glory; and he felt sure, that the return of a conqueror to England would do more to consolidate the Lancastrian dynasty, than any political measures, however wisely conceived or really beneficial they might be. Among the last injunctions of the late king to his son was one to this effect.

The war policy was an inheritance. Of peace no advocate was to be found among the counsellors of the king. The simple question was, against whom should the war be waged. Henry IV., from an early period of his life, had dreamed of a crusade; and at his last hour, the name of Jerusalem still lingered on his lips. But the age of crusades had long since passed away; and we always seek in vain to resuscitate an extinct enthusiasm. To revive the past in the present or the future is an expectation sure to fail. A small party there was, which would have carried out the sound policy of Edward I., and have rendered the British island an impregnable fortress, by uniting the two kingdoms of which it was comprised under one sovereign.

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But to the majority of the nation, the barren hills of Scotland did not offer that attraction, which was provided for the plunderer, whether patrician or plebeian, in the fertile plains and in the wealthy towns of France. The glories of the last Edward's reign still lingered in men's minds; while the attendant sufferings and the consequent miseries of the war had long since been forgotten. Poor knights had returned home laden with spoil, and scarcely a habitation was found, which was not adorned with articles of French industry and taste. Barons loved to recount the gallant actions of their fathers, and pointed to the coffers, now nearly exhausted, which had once been replenished by the ransoms paid by captured lords and princes. The serfs who had followed their lords to battle, were now liveried retainers in their halls; or had become bandits in the woods and forests, eager to resume a course of life which they thought to be more honourable. The towns on the sea-coast were in a state of insecurity; the very Channel was filled with French privateers and pirates; for although there was a *truce* between England and France, yet, as has been before remarked, between the two countries no *peace* existed.

The question before Chicheley and the council did not, indeed, relate to peace; we were already at war with France, and the point to be decided was, whether we should or should not, instead of putting off the day of battle by truces badly kept, prosecute the war with vigour.

That Henry had less claim to the throne of France than his great-grandfather, Edward III., is, with our modern notions of hereditary right, quite clear; and to say this, is to say that his claim was less than nothing.*

* Isabel, the mother of Edward III., was the daughter of Philip

Even if we were to admit the justice of Edward's claim, in right of his descent, through Queen Isabel, from Philip IV.; yet, at this time, the representative of Edward and his mother was the Earl of March. We may contend, that his rights might be set aside by an English parliament in respect to the English crown; but even then, the parliament of England could not interfere with any rights and privileges which he might enjoy in France. But this was not the view taken by Chicheley and the advocates on the side of Henry. By the Lancastrians it was held that Richard II., in his resignation, had yielded all his rights, not only as king, but also as the head of the royal family; and it was maintained, that these, in their completeness, had been conferred by the nation on Henry of Bolingbroke and his heirs. It was to be added, that this transfer of the inheritance had been acquiesced in by the Earl of

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the Fair. The sons of Philip were Louis X., Philip, and Charles IV., who all of them, in succession, occupied the French throne, and all of them also died without male issue. Edward claimed the crown of France, as the next male heir, in the right of Isabel his mother, on the supposition that the Salic Law, though depriving females of the succession, was of no effect in regulating the male issue of such females. But, conceding this point, Edward had no right to the throne; for Jane, daughter of Louis X., became, by her husband Philip of Evreux, the mother of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre. And Charles's claim was superior to that of Edward, on Edward's own principle, as a male descendant, through a female, of a later king of France, Charles being the grandson of Louis X., and Edward the grandson of Philip IV., the father of Louis X. The claim of Charles, again, was inferior to that of Philip, son of Eudes, fourth duke of Burgundy, by his wife Jane, daughter of Philip V., brother and successor of Louis X.; while Philip's claim would thus have been admissible, as Blanche, the daughter of Charles IV., brother and successor of Philip V., died without issue by her husband Philip, duke of Orleans, son of Philip VI., king of France. The title of King of France was retained by the kings of England until renounced by George III.

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March himself. Henry, therefore, might regard himself as having inherited every right, privilege, and prerogative which had, at any time, pertained to his predecessors, the kings of England. Then, as to the *casus belli*, this is so fairly stated by a French writer, in praise of whose candour too much cannot be said, that his argument shall here be given. After the violation of the treaty of Brétigny by Charles V., there was a renewal of the war between England and France. "This second war," it is observed, "was interrupted by a truce, which continued till the death of Edward in 1377. During the reign of Richard II. and the remainder of Charles V.'s life, and the first years of Charles VI., war and peace followed each other in quick succession, without any important or decided advantage on either side. At last Richard II. and Charles VI. concluded, not a peace, but a truce, for twenty-eight years, which was ratified by the marriage of Richard with Charles's daughter, Isabel. From the deposition of Richard to the death of Henry IV., notwithstanding frequent violations of the truce, both sides maintained that it still subsisted. Such was the state of the two crowns when Henry of Monmouth ascended the throne. France, having broken the treaty of Brétigny, and maintaining that the treaty was void, the kings of England were evidently reinstated in all their rights, such as they were before the peace. On this principle, immediately after the disclaiming of that peace on the part of France, Edward III. resumed the title of king of France, which he had previously laid aside ; and his successors assumed it also. Since the commencement of the war which followed the peace of Brétigny, there never had been peace between the crowns, but only truces, which do not affect the rights of either party. It is evident, therefore, that, when he ascended the



throne, Henry V. found himself under precisely the same circumstances in point of right in which his grandfather, Edward III., had been eighty years before, when by him the first war was commenced. Besides which, Henry had to allege a solemn treaty, which, after it had been unequivocally acted upon, France broke on a most trifling pretext." \*

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At a time when too many of our own authors think it necessary, sometimes without examining the subject, to indulge in inconsiderate declamations against the great and good king Henry and his ministers, it is pleasant to read the candid and dispassionate statement of the learned French writer. I think it most probable that the view taken of the subject by Edward and Henry was, that as there were several parties who had equal, or nearly equal, claims to the crown of France, they might all contend for a prize, which was to be won by the strongest arm and the clearest head.

When it was finally determined that no truce with France should again be made, Chicheley was equally zealous and successful in his endeavours to raise the necessary funds. From the clergy he obtained a subsidy of twopence. The payment of Peter pence to the Roman treasury was suspended under the plea, urged at the late synod, that pending the Schism, it was not known who the St. Peter was, to whom the money was legally due. Chicheley collected the tax, and devoted it to the service of the king. A precedent was set by Chicheley of the confiscation of monastic property to the service of the state. The possessions of the alien priories were sold, as belonging to foreigners hostile to the King of England; and they were forfeited to the

\* "Abrégé Historique des Actes Publics d'Angleterre," which accompanies the foreign edition of Rymer.

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Crown.\* At a later period of the reign, the archbishop, with the bishops of Winchester and Durham and Sir John Rothenhale, were formed into a Commission to receive the profits arising from wardships, and the marriages of wards of the Crown; these were applied to the expenses of the war.† Chicheley went further. While the army was fighting the battles of the country abroad, it was necessary to form a militia for the protection of the coast. The clergy of the diocese of Canterbury undertook to protect, at his requisition, the south coast, and the example of the primate was followed by his suffragans, who were required by the king to array the clergy for the defence of the kingdom.‡ While Chicheley was at the head of the Government, equal zeal was shown by the laity.

The parliamentary grants were liberal. Meantime the king's eye was everywhere, from Land's End to the mountains of Wales, and from the South Coast to the marches of Scotland. For the defence of the East and West marches of Scotland, two hundred lances and four hundred archers were despatched; and for the defence of North and South Wales, one hundred lances and two hundred archers. The sea-coast was to be watched by a navy, doubled in its number of ships, and by one hundred and fifty lances and three hundred archers. In addition to these, which may be regarded as the regular troops, the peers were empowered to call out the militia of the several counties; and the archbishop, as we have seen, formed the clergy

\* The property of those of the alien priories which had already shaken off their dependence upon Norman abbeys, and, by electing their own head, had become independent monasteries, was spared.

† *Foedera*, ix. 322 (28 Nov. 1415). This is one of the earliest instances of treating the property of the Crown as public property.

‡ *Foedera*, ix. 253 (28th May, 1415), where the proclamation for arraying the clergy is given.

into volunteer corps, diligent in practising at the butt.\* Never were the bowmen of England more numerous and more skilled. To assist in the transport of the troops, ships were hired from Holland and Zealand; and for the first time, the Government, not content with pressing into the public service the ships of the merchants, determined on having a navy of its own. Henry was a ship-builder throughout his reign; and not only sailors but smiths and carpenters were pressed for the king's service, that the knights might be supplied with armour, and that the bows of the archers might be kept in repair. Not only were the usual engines of war placed on board the ships, but several cannons of unusual size, called bombards; to work which gunners were procured from Germany.

Great activity was shown in the commissariat department. The sheriffs of the different counties were employed in the purchase of cattle; and the bakers and brewers of Southampton and Winchester were working night and day. The whole country was on the tiptoe of expectation.

The Duke of Bedford was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom during the absence of the king; but Chicheley was placed at the head of the Council. From the commencement of the reign, Chicheley had been chief adviser of the king, and now he was constituted, in modern parlance, the prime-minister.† Although the expenses of acting on the Council must

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\* The rate of pay is worthy of notice. A duke employed in the service was to receive thirteen shillings and fourpence; an earl received six shillings and eightpence; a baron, four shillings; a knight, two shillings; an esquire, being a man-at-arms, one shilling; every archer, sixpence a day. For every thirty men-at-arms, the sum of one hundred marks a quarter was assigned. *Fœdera*, ix. 228 (29th April, 1415).

† *Fœdera*, ix. 223 (18th April, 1415).

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have been considerable, yet the services of the primate were, like those of his predecessors, gratuitous till the year 1426. In that year, an order of council assigned salaries to the privy councillors, the salary of Chicheley amounting to three hundred marks. This measure indicated a social change. So long as the council was confined to ecclesiastics remunerated by Church preferment, or by the first nobles of the land, no payment was necessary; but a salary became requisite, when kings were obliged to look to talent rather than to birth; and when many men of talent declined taking holy orders or to subject themselves to the restraints of ecclesiastical life. For a long period, as we shall find in Henry VIII.'s reign, the public servants were inadequately paid, and persons of inferior station were employed in diplomacy.

Just before the fleet sailed from Southampton, the archbishop waited upon the king to receive his last commands, and to confer his benediction upon the armament. Henry was not a man to think scorn of any of the forms of religion, or to undervalue a bishop's blessing. He was accustomed to confess every week, and, hidden from public view in the royal closet—such as may still be seen in St. George's Chapel—he was accustomed to frequent the daily service of the Church; making it a rule to come before the service commenced, and not, as the custom with some had been, to leave church before it was over.\*

\* “*Rex in divinis fore devotus perhibetur,  
Et caput et finis inter divina tenetur.  
Qualibet hebdomada culpas confessio mundat,  
Et sic multimoda virtus regalis abundat.  
Dum missas audit illum clam cellula claudit;  
Dulciter implorat, tunc et devotius orat.  
Externas curas, præsentis sive futuras  
Tunc non disponit, in Christo spem quia ponit.*”

Versus Rhythmici de Henrico Quinto, 91—98.

He was pensive when Chicheley approached him on the 10th day of August, 1415. He had already, on the 24th of July, executed his will,\* and had requested the archbishop to act as one of his executors. He now informed him that, as a mark of his friendship, he had bequeathed to the primate a crimson embroidered velvet robe.

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It was a splendid sight which met the eye of Chicheley, as he looked proudly from the shore upon the fleet, which transported the army of England to the Continent. The formation of a fleet had occupied the mind of the king for some time; and although some vessels of small craft were employed, there were ships also of considerable dimensions. We have an account of a ship built at Bayonne at Henry's expense, which was one hundred and eighty-six feet in length. The stern was in height ninety-six feet, and the keel was in length one hundred and twelve feet.† But the grandest ship of all which sailed that day, was the ship on which the royal standard was hoisted.

This was the most brilliant, if not the happiest, period of Chicheley's life.‡ Nevertheless, the anxiety must have been intense to the Home Government, when the country was drained of its able-bodied men, who had been enlisted to serve in the king's army abroad. In the event of any casualty occurring to the king, the country might be invaded from three quarters at once—from Scotland, from Wales, and from France. Its main defence would lie with the

\* *Fœdera*, ix. 289.

† Ellis's Letters, Second Series, xxi.

‡ In the parliament of 1415 it was enacted that, "Considering the damnable schism between the two popes at Rome, all bishops elect, and other persons, should be confirmed by their own metropolitans, upon the king's writ, without further excuse or delay."—*Parl. Hist.* i. 332 (ed. 1806).

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volunteers, consisting chiefly, as we have seen, of clergy, and of a militia formed by the superannuated ; together with the small body of disciplined troops, posted at the points of attack, sufficient to defend the country under ordinary circumstances, yet utterly inadequate to resist such a force as might be allied against England, in the event of her army being destroyed in France. The consolation was that civil disturbances were not now to be apprehended, since the discontented had, in large numbers, joined the forces of the king.

With intense anxiety did the Government, over which Chicheley presided, wait for intelligence with respect to the safe transport of the troops. How natural such anxiety was, we may easily imagine, when we read that the forces were embarked at Southampton in 1,500 ships of various tonnage. Upon the winds and the waves, as much as upon human skill, the safety of the army depended. The weather was watched, and great was the satisfaction experienced by all parties at home, when the news arrived, that, on the 13th of August, after a safe passage of two days, the fleet had entered the mouth of the Seine, and had anchored at a place called Clef de Caus, between Honfleur and Harfleur. This news was followed by the announcement that, on the 18th of that month, the siege of Harfleur had commenced. The high expectations of the people in England were, however, damped by parties arriving from the camp, through whom it was reported, that the resistance offered by the enemy was such as to render a protracted siege unavoidable ; and fears were now entertained lest, from the condition of the army, weakened by an epidemic, the king would be compelled to raise the siege. Among those who perished through the pre-

valent dysentery was Courtenay, bishop of Norwich,* a personal friend of the king, by whom the dying bishop was nursed with all a brother's affection and a nurse's care. But almost immediately after the last piece of intelligence, the Government was calling upon the people to return thanks to God for the success of the royal army in the capture of the beleaguered city. On the 18th of September the belligerents came to terms, and on Sunday, the 22d, the town was surrendered. Seated on a throne, erected under a silk pavilion on a hill opposite the city, the king received the homage of the governor and other chief inhabitants, the holy sacrament being borne in procession before them, that on it they might swear to keep the treaty. The king, having reproached them for having

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* Richard Courtenay was the son of Philip Courtenay, of Powderham, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Humphrey, earl of Hereford. He was the godson of Archbishop Courtenay; who bequeathed him 100*l.* and his books if he became a clergyman, and his best mitre if he happened to be a bishop. He was educated at Exeter College, and held the office of Chancellor of the University in 1611 and in 1612. He graduated in laws, and became an eminent lawyer. But though practising as a lawyer, he sought his income in the Church. On the 24th of July, 1394, he was a prebendary of St. Paul's, and soon after obtained prebends in Lincoln, York, and Wells. In 1400 according to Le Neve, in 1397 according to Dallaway, he was precentor of Chichester. In February, 1409-10, he was collated to the archdeaconry of Northampton. He obtained the deanery of St. Asaph in May, 1402, and in 1410 he was removed to the deanery of Wells. In the meantime he was employed in secular appointments. In 1406 he was one of the embassy which attended Philippa, the daughter of Henry IV., to Denmark, where she was married to King Eric at Lunden. He was consecrated to the see of Norwich at Windsor on the 17th September, 1413. He was employed in 1414 in the embassy to France, to demand the French crown. He died of dysentery at the siege of Harfleur, on the 15th September, 1415, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.—Fuller. English Chron. 34, 180. Le Neve. Stubbs.

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kept his own town from him, now offered them his forgiveness; and then entertained them hospitably at a royal banquet. Those of the inhabitants who refused their allegiance to Henry, were regarded as prisoners of war, but were kindly treated, though they were obliged to quit the town. To re-people it immigrants were invited from England. Thus was borne in mind one object of the war, which was to provide employment for those who were unable to find work, and were therefore ready for mischief at home.

The enthusiasm of the people was great. The times of Edward III. had now returned. Immense booty had been taken. To Chicheley and the Council it was a real relief to hear of the enormous treasures, which had been secured by the king, and which he had appropriated to the public service.

But what the enemy could not accomplish was soon to be effected by the unsubdued energy of an epidemic. The army was fearfully diminished by the dysentery. Further military operations, at that late season of the year, with an army so weakened, could not be attempted. Notice came therefore to the Government, that the king would winter in England. But how to get to England was the question. The gallant navy which had conveyed the troops to Harfleur had been dispersed. The king had no choice left him, therefore, but to make for his town of Calais. But to reach Calais he would have to pass through Normandy—that is, through a hostile country into which Chicheley and the Government knew well, that the enemy was pouring an overwhelming force. It was soon known in England that the king, having garrisoned Harfleur, had left that town on the 8th of October. The archbishop and the Home Government calculated, that the whole army consisted of not more than nine thousand men; some, perhaps

correctly, gave the number as six thousand. News came that our "Adversary of France," Charles VI. had unfurled the Oriflamme; and that, with a well-appointed army, consisting of fourteen thousand men at arms, the march of the English king was to be arrested.

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It was an awful crisis. There seemed to be scarcely a chance for the little army of Henry. If he were defeated, fourteen thousand men were ready to pour down on the English coast. For such a contingency the country was unprepared; and Chicheley felt, that the whole responsibility rested on him, for he had no confidence in the Duke of Bedford, who, though he afterwards proved himself to be second only, as a general, to Henry V. himself, was, as yet, an untried man.

The gloom, however, was dispelled as by a miracle. On Tuesday, the 29th of October, at an early hour, the news reached Chicheley at Lambeth, that the battle of Agincourt had been fought and won; and the gratitude of the people displayed itself in spontaneous religious processions. The official despatches did not arrive till the 4th of November, when the Duke of Bedford announced formally to parliament what appeared to the members as a twice-told, though certainly not a tedious, tale. There had been a shout of joy throughout the land—the louder from the fears which were before entertained for the safety of the king and his army. The French, it was said, had been as six to one against the English, and henceforth a superstition prevailed, which, to the disquiet of cosmopolitan liberalism, still lingers in the land, that one Englishman is a match for six Frenchmen.

The primate, as the head of the Council, received intelligence that the victorious king would set sail for England on the 16th of November; and the archbishop hastened to Canterbury, to make ready there, for the

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royal reception, while the whole population rushed to the coast to bid the hero welcome. Alarm had again to be experienced. The wind was boisterous. Two vessels, which had accompanied the king from Calais, were lost. Hour after hour the nation appeared watching at the coast; and when, at length, the king's ship neared the beach, crowds of people rushed into the sea and brought the conquering hero on their shoulders to the shore.* The archbishop remained at Canterbury, and there, as the king approached, he gave him a hearty welcome, as the head of the clergy, no longer armed as volunteers, but appearing in their sacerdotal vestments. A procession was then formed to the cathedral. The archbishop waited on the king while he paid his devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas, and viewed the other sacred treasures.† Chicheley then left the king, and hurried to Lambeth to be prepared for the royal reception in London. Henry, having slept at Eltham, was received at Blackheath by the mayor of London, attended by more than twenty thousand people, wild with enthusiasm and delight. The king modestly declined any special demonstrations of honour to himself, and avoided all appearance of a triumph. He had subdued rebellious subjects—such he claimed the

* Titus Livius, Foro-jul., p. 22.

† Elmham is careful to remind us that the king visited St. Augustine's. "Quod Gaucort, cum aliis captivis, venit ad regem et rex ad Dovoriam remeavit."

"Gaucort captivus ex conducto redeunte,

Portum Dovoræ rex remeando petit.

Unius aptat ibi requiem retinere diei,

Versus metropolim limina sancta petens.

Visit ibi sanctos Augustinum sociosque,

Inde Thomæ limen, his referendo preces."—P. 124.

Elmham's account of the king's entrance into London, too long for transcription, is extremely interesting, from its reference to familiar localities.

French to be—and this was a legitimate ground for thanksgiving, but not for triumphant demonstrations. The English people thought otherwise, and, as he entered the city in simple attire, they hailed him as the conqueror of the national enemy. They escorted him to St. Paul's, where Chicheley received him, and a *Te Deum* was sung. The archbishop then hastened to his barge, and was ready for the king's arrival at Westminster Abbey. Here Henry again poured forth his fervent feelings of gratitude and piety ; for, whether he were right or wrong, he represented his cause to himself as a righteous and a holy cause, thinking his success a sufficient proof of the fact.*

The archbishop was directed to prepare a service for the occasion, to be used in the churches in the province of Canterbury. We find a description of the service in Elmham. It is scarcely possible to render it intelligible in a translation. It is a *memoria technica* of the psalms to be sung on each day of the week, followed by similar couplets relating to the other parts of the service. It is as follows :

“ Rex memor est regum, Patriarcharum, quoque vatum,
 Qui Regi summo laudis amœna dabant.
 Nam quoties datur acta manu victoria summi,
 Augendum toties est opus inde Dei.
 Prævia cum Psalmis stant Responsoria versu,
 Gloria post toto sunt repetenda choro.

{	Dominica	feria 2.	feria 3.	feria 4.	feria 5.
	Can ^{tenus}	Jubi ^{late}	Con ^{fitemini}	Lau ^{date}	nomen Domini Be ^{nedicite}
	Laud ^{ate}	Dominum de cœlis	Exul	tavit cor meum in Domino	in ordine psalle.

* In Sir Harris Nicolas, the reader will find all that can be suggested against the character of Henry. In Tyler's *Life of Henry* he will find a defence only strong by reference to facts. Tyler is almost puerile in his attempt to represent Henry a hero on the protestant model of the nineteenth century.

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{ Sum^{mæ} Trinitati Bene^{dictus} Quis^{Deus} Glor^{ia} Patri Honor^{Virtus}
{ Tibi laus Benedi^{camus} Patrem dabis his.

Post missam celebre memoratur Trinus et Unus ;

Cum versu, ' *Tibi laus, O'* repetenda patet.

Versiculo dat collectam celebrando sacerdos ;

Ascendit Christus, sumpta Maria tenet.

Hic vir despiciens memor est tibi, Sancte Georgi !

His sunt versiculi cum prece more pari.

Post complementum, divinorum memores sex

Hi sunt sollennes, quos numerare potes.

{ Tri^{nitas} Spi^{ritus} Sanctus Rex^{Edwardus} Præco^{Johannes Baptista}

{ Miles^{Sanctus Georgius} Regina beata^{Sancta Maria}

{ Li^{bera} nos Veⁿⁱ Sancte Spiritus Confer ave^{Rex gentis,} jungis In^{ternatos}
ad placitum chori.

{ Hic est vere martyr Placet hæc." *

In the years 1415 and 1416, the Convocation was actively, though not very profitably, employed. It was supposed, of course, that at Agincourt St. George, our patron saint, fought for the armies of England. In heathen times, when one people conquered another, it was customary to do honour to the gods of the victorious nation. It was for this purpose, that his god might share in the honours of his triumph, that the golden image of that god was raised by Nebuchadnezzar on the plains of Dura. The spirit of heathenism had lingered long in Christendom ; and Henry V., unwilling to ascribe all the credit of the late victory to his own transcendent genius, desired that new honours should be conferred upon St. George. Archbishop Chicheley, therefore, in obedience to the royal command, acting on the advice of his brethren the clergy, and supported by the decree of a provincial synod, constituted the feast of St. George as a greater double, and ordered it to be observed as such in every

* Elmham, Lib. Metr. de Henrico V. p. 140.

church throughout the province of Canterbury.* Regulations were made for the observance of other festivals ; and to prevail upon the north-countrymen to concur in the arrangements, so as to include the entire Church of England, it was enjoined, that the feast of St. John of Beverley should henceforth be kept in the southern, as it had long been observed in the northern, province. The Yorkshiresmen, who fought at Agincourt, swore that they had seen St. John of Beverley fighting by their side. How he was to be distinguished from any other knight they did not say ; but the Yorkshiresmen who stayed at home—the old men and the women—were not behind their belligerent brethren in their zeal for the Northern Saint ; for they swore that, at the very time that the engagement took place, holy oil flowed by drops, like sweat, out of his tomb, as an indication, it was said, of the mercy of God towards his people, through the merits of that holy man. But a difficulty presented itself. The feast of the translation of St. John of Beverley fell on the 25th of October, when service was performed in honour of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, for whose merits also, it was said, the Lord had deigned to look down on the English nation with a gracious regard. There was, therefore, a splitting of the difference ; and that all the three saints might be equally honoured, it was ordered by the archbishop that, throughout his province, the feast should be celebrated by nine lessons : the first three the proper lessons for St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, the three middle ones for the Translation of St. John of Beverley, and the last three out of the Exposition of the Gospels for several martyrs, with the service accustomed in such cases according to the use of Sarum.†

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* Wilkins, iii. 376.

† Spelman, ii. 673, Wilkins, iii. 379. The whole constitution is worthy of perusal, but it is too long for transcription here.

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Verily the Church required a reformation which would go far deeper than the reformation which Chicheley was prepared to support, and which reached only to things external. The necessity, indeed, of some reforms was admitted by the convocation at this time assembled; but they were insufficient, and went not to the root of the evil. It was enacted, that no married or bigamous clerk* or layman should exercise any spiritual jurisdiction whatever, under any pretence, either in his own name or in any other's; and whatsoever should be done, or had been done, by the said married or bigamous clerks or laymen, was declared to be null and void. This shows that the clergy still continued, though against the canons, to marry. The Constitution of 1416 proceeds further than that of 1415; and the Convocation, through its president, ordained, that the suffragans of Canterbury should, by themselves or their officials and commissaries, make inquiry in their several jurisdictions, in every rural deanery, at least twice in every year, after persons suspected of heresy. The clergy could only take cognisance of heresy as such; but this decree was really pointed against the lollards, a political rather than a religious faction, though acting under the pretext of religion. Men of good report in every deanery or parish, in which heretics were said to dwell, were sworn to

* A bigamous clerk was one who had successively married two wives; and, interpreting by the canon, the same designation was applied to any one who had married a widow, or a divorced woman. But the same law expressly allows a dispensation to be granted to him who, being a priest, had successively had two concubines; for Innocent III., in his Decretal, A.D. 1213, rules that this is only simple fornication, and no irregularity is thereby incurred. *Decretal.* Greg. ix. lib. i. tit. 21, c. 6. Johnson, in referring to the Decretal, says, "from such laws good Lord deliver us!" We note the circumstance as one of those which rendered a reformation necessary.

denounce all suspected persons; that is to say, all who kept private conventicles, or who differed in their lives and manners from the generality of the faithful. Books written "in the vulgar English tongue" were to be regarded as suspicious, and were therefore to be seized.

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The search was not diligently made, nor, indeed, was it necessary. The wars on the Continent, and afterwards the civil wars in England, provided so much employment for turbulent spirits, that, before the close of Chicheley's episcopate, lollardism, as a faction, had become politically insignificant. But the arrival of the Emperor Sigismund in England, at the period now under consideration, is sufficient to account for the zeal displayed at this particular time, against the lollards.*

The emperor's object in visiting England was twofold—to terminate the schism of the Western Church, and to take measures to meet that demand for a reformation of the Church, which had become almost universal. In both objects he was secure of the co-operation of Chicheley.

The emperor, the king, the archbishop admitted that the Church required to be reformed in its head, and in its members. They went further. In concurrence with the opinions of all the leading divines of Europe, they regarded a general council as superior to the pope; and had arrived at the determination that it was only by subordinating the rival popes to the judgment of a council, that the schism could be brought to a conclusion. It was determined, that a general council should be convened; and to render it

* Sigismund was at this time, strictly speaking, only King of the Romans, and Emperor elect. In public documents he was described, "Sigismundus Dei gratiâ Romanorum Rex, semper Augustus."

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effective, it was necessary, that all the sovereigns of Europe should be united, and that they should combine in action. The clergy gave their cordial support to the measure, and the most active among the reformers were ecclesiastics. But, although the leading persons in church and state were unanimous in their determination to effect a reformation of the church in its head and members, they were equally unanimous in resisting any change in the doctrine or the formularies of the church. It was by avoiding this subject, that they expected to secure unanimity of action; and, unfortunately, they were equally unanimous in the resolution to put down by fire and faggot any attempt at doctrinal reformation. The doctrinal reformers were at this time chiefly to be found among the humbler classes of society; and these reformers were regarded with feelings similar to those which, in our own time, have been excited against the chartists. They were despised and feared, and when any man of eminence appeared on their side, it was supposed that, from personal considerations, he entertained revolutionary designs, and against him all hands were raised. Upon this topic, however, the reader is referred to the introductory chapter of this book.

There is always a large class in every country, who, carrying a right principle to a vicious extreme, by some moral obliquity venerate wrong itself when it has long been established: who declare that they—

“ Would rather bear the ills we have  
Than fly to others that we know not of; ”

and when the object of the visit paid to this country by the emperor elect was known, the archbishop sought to prevent alarm by issuing those constitutions against the lollards to which we have referred.

The other object which the emperor had in view, in subservience to his main purpose, was to effect an accommodation between England and France, and to act as mediator between the contending parties. He had, for this purpose, already visited Paris; and, as England was not quite prepared for the exhausting process of another campaign, he found Henry ready to enter into negotiations. The negotiations were broken off by the conduct of the French. Armagnac, having become constable of France, had attacked Harfleur, and, having the power of the state at his command, he permitted the French fleet to scour the Channel, and to threaten several parts of the English coast. By the wonderful energy of Henry, an English navy immediately appeared on the sea; and under the command of the Duke of Bedford, not only defeated the French fleet, but compelled Armagnac to raise the siege of Harfleur.\*

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The King of the Romans, when he was in England, came to a good understanding with Chicheley; and before he quitted the country, he formed an alliance with King Henry.†

In the negotiations with France, which took place after our success, and ended in a truce of four months,‡

\* See the document, *De Duce Bedfordiæ locum tenente supra Mare constituto*, in the *Fœdera*, ix. 371 (22 Jul., 1416); *Walsingham*, 394 (ed. 1603); *Elmham*, 139; *Tit. Liv.* 26; *Monstrelet*, ii. 119 (ed. Johnes); *Otterb.* i. 278.

† See *Alligantia Sigismundi Regis Romanorum*. *Fœdera*, ix. 377; and, *Ejusdem Alligantiæ Promissio ex parte Regis*, *Fœdera*, ix. 381 (15 Aug. 1416). The documents, though long, are interesting, from their going into detail. The treaty was confirmed by parliament. *Rot. Parl.* iv. 96.

‡ The truce was for four months, to be observed by land, through the marches of Picardy, and all western Flanders; and by sea, de Marrocco (Morocco) usque ad regnum Norwegiæ. *Fœdera*, ix. 397. This negotiation was with the Dauphin. Henry, it would seem,

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Chicheley acted as one of the commissioners. But he did not assume a prominent position, and perhaps he only attended because, the French party being represented by the Archbishop of Rheims, it was decorous that the Church of England should be represented by her primate. Into the intricacies of the negotiation we have no occasion to enter, although the interesting fact transpires, that Chicheley and the English ambassadors were directed not to accept the French language as the medium of communication. The king insisted that the documents to be signed by his ambassadors should be either in English or in Latin.

When King Henry returned to the Continent the archbishop was not appointed to the regency, because the king might require the presence of so able a lawyer and diplomatist in his foreign negotiations and arrangements. For some reason or other, however, the archbishop did not join the king in France till the close of 1418. He then remained with Henry until the surrender of the city of Rouen. We find him associated with the Earl of Warwick in conducting the treaty of surrender with the noble-minded inhabitants of that city. The inhabitants of Rouen, when they found that their countrymen were unable to come to their rescue, sent an embassy to the King of England, consisting of two churchmen, two gentlemen, two citizens,—all described by the chronicler as wise, prudent, and well-spoken. The archbishop had taken up his abode at the convent of preaching friars; and

was at the same time in alliance with the Duke of Burgundy and the Queen, or nominally with Charles VI. But if we refer to the long document, *De Tractando cum Dauphino super Amicitiiis*, in *Fœdera*, ix. 626 (26 Oct. 1418), and the Acts of the Privy Council, ii. 350, it appears that the king was certainly at first desirous of coming to terms with the Dauphin.

here the deputation from Rouen was received by him and the Earl of Warwick ; and were informed, that the king demanded an unconditional surrender of the city.

On receiving this information the citizens immediately determined to burn the town, and either to force their way through the English lines, or to perish in the ruins. The king, having heard of their noble resolve, directed the archbishop to summon the deputies of the city to another conference ; and it was now agreed that, on their paying 365,000 crowns of gold, and swearing allegiance to the King of England, the citizens should retain all the liberties, privileges, and franchises of which they had been in possession from the time of St. Louis. All who, rather than submit to these conditions, preferred to quit the city, were to be escorted in safety beyond the king's outposts ; under the condition, that they took oath not to bear arms against the king for one whole year. When the treaty was concluded, and pledges given for its due observance, a certain number of the townsmen were permitted to enter the English camp at their pleasure for the purchase of provisions. The caterers were astonished at the abundance of provisions, and their consequent cheapness ; and they were gratified by the hospitality and kindness of the archbishop. The treaty was concluded on the 16th of January, 1419, and on the 19th, the king made his public entry into the town of Rouen.\*

The deep religious impression, which the mind of Chicheley had received ; and which had induced him to desire a retreat from public life, increased rather than diminished. He felt more and more his responsibilities as a minister of God. He gradually ceased to be the mere lawyer, and became a theologian. During the

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\* Monstrelet, ii. 222 (ed. Johnes).

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period of his remaining with the camp in France, he was chiefly occupied by the duties which devolved upon him as confessor to the king, and chaplain-general of the army; at the same time, he directed his attention to the establishment of ecclesiastical courts in the several dioceses of the conquered country, from which the higher ecclesiastics had, in general, fled. In former times, as the reader of these volumes will remember, the Church was so identified with the State, that the primate assumed a right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wherever the civil government of a conquered country devolved upon the Crown. Although, in Chicheley's time, the Church had already become an institution of the country, distinguishable from the State, yet this feeling was not extinct. Where Henry was king, there Chicheley was primate. His attendance in the camp, therefore, became a duty: and, as the conquests of Henry, after the capture of Rouen, rapidly extended over Normandy and Brittany, the duties which Chicheley was called upon to discharge, were neither easy nor agreeable. Chicheley was able, however, to return to England at the end of August; and he remained occupied with the business of his province till June in the year following.

On the 21st of May, 1420, a treaty of peace had been signed at Troyes between England and France, and the Princess Katherine was the affianced bride of Henry, king of England, who signed himself regent and heir-apparent of France. When peace was proclaimed in London on the 24th of June,—a peace which was made on these conditions, gave the most intense satisfaction to the nation. But before that time, on the 10th of June, Chicheley had embarked at Winchelsea, and was on his way to Troyes to offer his congratulations to the newly-married couple.



The marriage had taken place on the 30th of May, in the presence of the principal nobility of Burgundy and France. To conciliate the French, the Archbishop of Sens, and not the Archbishop of Canterbury, officiated on the occasion. If, in celebrating this event, it was the intention of the king to astonish the French, by a display of his grandeur, he certainly succeeded; for Monstrelet remarks that "such great pomp and magnificence were displayed by him and his princes, as if he were at that moment king of all the world." \*

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Chicheley, on his arrival, was cordially welcomed by his royal master and his bride; and he set himself diligently to work, in order that peace might be established between the Gallican and English churches, as well as between the two nations. He had caused a proclamation to be issued, in which he directed the French to submit to all diocesan ordinances, and regulations, as they had existed before our conquest of France, thereby removing all pretensions to jurisdiction on his part. The French were not to be treated as conquered. The two nations were to form a united kingdom.

Having settled affairs in France, the Archbishop of Canterbury returned to England, to prepare for the reception of the young queen, and for her coronation.

At the coronation Chicheley officiated. It is unnecessary to describe the ceremonial, which was conducted in strict accordance with the form which has always been observed in England, if not throughout all those nations of Europe to whose courts the court of the holy Roman empire was the model. The enthusiasm with which the people received the queen, a foreigner, was a proof of their zeal, their loyalty, their love for

\* Monstrelet, ii. 277 (ed. Johnes).



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her heroic husband. The nation rose as one man to say, God bless you.

These rejoicings and the coronation took place in Lent. According to the notions of the age, there was nothing indecorous in the festivities; neither was a splendid feast to be eschewed,—only, the banquet was to consist exclusively of fish. “Ye shall understande,” says Fabyan, “that the feast was all of fyshe.” Yet, strange to say, the first dish he mentions is brawn. The bill of fare is given by Fabyan, and is an interesting document.

Supported by the king, and with a king ever ready to act upon his advice, Chicheley, at this period of his life, showed a vigour of mind, in which he was certainly deficient when this support was withdrawn, and when he had to rely on his own resources. Pious, like the king, he was, like the king, a patriot; and devoted as they were to the cause of religion, for that very reason, they were both on the side of the cardinals, against the pope; under the conviction, that the Church required a reform, which nothing but decided measures could effect.

While ever ready to obey the call of his king, Chicheley still avoided as much as possible state affairs, and he gave his chief attention to his spiritual duties. The arguments of Wiclif had begun to tell, and the clergy were becoming aware, that there was an inconsistency in assuming spiritual offices merely to enable them to discharge the functions of statesman.\*

\* We have an instance of the manner in which ecclesiastical preferments were used to make provision for persons employed in professions now filled entirely by laymen, in a letter from Henry V. to his Chancellor, the Bishop of Durham, in 1421:—“Worshipful Fader in God, oure right trusty and welbeloved.

One of the first duties which devolved upon Chicheley after his appointment to the see of Canterbury was to summon a synod for the purpose of electing and appointing delegates to the Council of Constance. The delegates selected were the Bishops of Salisbury,\* of Bath,† and of Hereford.‡ The Arch-

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Forasmuche as we have understoode by youre lettres, late sent unto us, yat oure Wyf ye Queene hath spoken unto you, and desireth yat hir Phisicien myght have sum benefice wiyoute cure, of oure collacion, in ye whiche matere ye desire to have knowledge of oure wil, we signiffie unto you yat hit is wel oure entent whanne sucche benefice voydeth, of oure yefte yat ye make collacion to him thereof.” —Ellis, i. 71.

\* For an account of the Bishop of Salisbury, Robert Hallam, see above, p. 19.

† Nicholas Bubwith was Rector of Southall; on the 4th of Feb. 1396, he was Rector of Brington; he was Vicar of Naseby; on the 17th of March, 1392, he was collated to a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral; to Exeter, on 2d June, 1396; to Ripon, on 29th April, 1399; to Salisbury, on 27th Nov. 1402; to York, 3d March, 1403; and in the same year to a stall in Lincoln Cathedral. He was Archdeacon of Exeter on the 9th April, 1399; of Dorset, 9th July, 1400; of Richmond, 16th March, 1401. In 1403 he was appointed chaplain to the king. He was Clerk or Master of Chancery, 1397; Lord Keeper in 1402; Master of the Rolls, 24th Sept. 1402; Lord Treasurer, 27th Feb. 1401; and in 1406, and again in 1408. He was consecrated to the see of London on the 26th Sept. 1406, at Mortlake. He was translated to Salisbury on the 22d of June, 1407, and on the following October to Bath and Wells. If he was appetent of preferment, he could also be munificent. He built a chapel and hall, and endowed a hospital at Wells, and daily fed twenty-four poor persons. At the Council of Constance he bore a distinguished part, and gave the casting vote for the election of Pope Martin V. He died 27th Oct. 1424. Ang. Sac. i. 571; Reg. Arundel; Pat. 7, Hen. IV. p. 2, m. 2, 20. Hardy, Le Neve, Stubbs.

‡ Robert Mascall was born probably, Pits says certainly, at Ludlow, where he became a Carmelite. He studied at Oxford, where he was distinguished equally for his learning and his piety. He was appointed confessor to Henry IV., and was appointed as a

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bishop nominated as his own proxies Robert Appylton, canon of York, and John Forest or Forester, canon of Lincoln.*

The king's ambassadors were the Earl of Warwick, Henry lord Fitzhugh, Sir Walter Hungerford, Master John Homyngham, doctor in laws, and Sir Ralph Rochfort.†

Another embassy was subsequently sent, and it was escorted by not fewer than four hundred Englishmen. We are not surprised at the number, when we find permission given to the Abbot of Westminster and the Prior of Worcester to be attended each by sixty men with horses and harness.‡ Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, was the chief person in the mission. He was, though opposed to the Lollard and the Bohemian parties, a decided and consistent reformer. He invariably sided

member of his Council, by Henry V. He was nominated to the see of Hereford by Henry IV., and was duly elected, and was also appointed by papal provision. He was consecrated on the 6th of July, 1404. The temporalities were restored to him on the 25th of Sept. (Pat. 5, Hen. IV. p. 2, m. 23) and made his profession of obedience to the king, in the church of Coventry, on the 28th of the same month (Reg. Arundel, fol. 28). He returned to England from Constance, and died on the 22d of December, 1416. By his will he desired to be buried in the cross aisle of the Friars Carmelite at Ludlow (Weever, 457), but was actually buried in the church of White Friars, London. Fuller's Worthies, iii. 59; Hardy, Le Neve, Stubbs.

* Wilkins, iii. 369. The name is given in Le Neve as Forester. For an account of the Council of Constance the reader is referred to the introductory chapter of this book. The first session was held in November, 1416, and the last on the 22d of April, 1418.

† In the Pell Rolls, p. 335, a statement is given of the payments made to the Earl of Warwick and the other members of the embassy. For his expenses in going to and returning from the Council of Constance, held "for the salvation of souls," the Earl of Warwick received 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Lord Fitzhugh, 200*l.*; the others 100*l.*

‡ *Fœdera*, v. 95. *De Passagio*.

with the emperor, and maintained the superiority of a council over the pope.* When John XXIII. was urging his complaints against the emperor, he made a special complaint against Robert, bishop of Salisbury and the representatives of the clergy of England, who, he asserted, had threatened to place the pope under arrest. Bishop Hallam had indeed gone further than this. When the awful iniquities of which John had been guilty were revealed to the Council, the Bishop of Salisbury hesitated not to give it as his opinion, that the pope ought to be burned at the stake.†

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The archbishop's representative, Forester, wrote an interesting account of the early proceedings of the Council to the government at home. It is too long for transcription, but it is worthy of an attentive perusal. The English ambassadors were received with distinguished honour by the King of the Romans, who entered the city of Constance with "the livery and colour of the King of England about his neck,"—the badge, as we afterwards find it, of the Order of the Garter. He permitted the Bishop of Salisbury to take precedence of the representative of "Our Adversary of France," and graciously received the assurance of the English ambassadors, that they were determined to carry out to the full extent a reformation of the Church, in its head and members. He took every opportunity of doing honour to the representatives of the King of England.‡

* The pope accused him of acting as if Hallam considered himself superior to both king and council. *L'Enfant*, i. 128.

† *L'Enfant*, ii. 123. *Schestr. Act. et Gesc.* 268. There are twenty-five references to the *Fœdera* in *L'Enfant*. I have read them all, but have not found in them anything that is not mentioned in *L'Enfant*, or which bears immediately on Chicheley.

‡ *Dors. Christianissimo Principi H. Angliæ et Franciæ Regi Domino meo semper augusto detur ista litera.* In the letter, which

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There was considerable misunderstanding and insubordination among the members of the embassy, when the health of Bishop Hallam began to fail ; and the misunderstanding was purposely augmented by the agents of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the king's uncle. He, to further his own objects, desired to strengthen the papal against the imperial party. This occasioned a letter, suggested by Chicheley, and probably written by him in the king's name, in which instructions were given to the bishops attending the Council as to their mode of proceeding for the future. The bishops are directed to send home any of their subordinates, who might prove refractory ; and the transgressors were threatened with a confiscation of their estates. When a difference of opinion arose among the bishops, the minority was to yield to the majority. From this document it appears, that other English bishops besides the three mentioned above, had attended the Council, probably volunteering their services, but certainly not leaving the country without the king's permission. The letter was dated the 18th of July, 1617, and bishop, or rather Cardinal Hallam died in the September following.\*

Chicheley's conduct was, at this time, perfectly consistent. He acted with determination, and was resolved to maintain the liberties of the Church of England. Acting through his convocation, he availed himself of the schism at Rome to annul all papal immunities and exemptions in England, or rather in the province of Canterbury. When the revenues of the alien priories were vested by parliament in the king, the archbishop obtained for the measure, through convocation, the

is evidently written, "*currente calamo*," Bubwith is called bishop of London.

\* *Fœdera*, iv. pt. 3, 6.

sanction of the Church. He himself became the purchaser of many of the estates when they were exposed to sale. Neither he nor his contemporaries regarded the dissolution of these monasteries as sacrilege. The good of the country required their dissolution, and it was done. All that he desired was permission to apply the revenues to sacred purposes. He endorsed, if he did not propose, the order in council which prohibited the preferment in England of any foreigner to any ecclesiastical benefice; until he had made oath and given security, that he would never divulge the secrets of the Government, or in any manner make known its designs to any enemy of the country. In 1421, the archbishop refused a grant to Pope Martin V., when by the papal agent a subsidy was demanded. When the pope desired to confer, by provision, the bishopric of Ely,—to be held *in commendam* with the see of Rouen,—upon Lewis, the archbishop of that province, Chicheley had refused to invest him with the spiritualities of the English see. He sided with the Gallican church when that church asserted its liberties. We are not surprised, therefore, that the pope should seek to humiliate Chicheley; or that he attempted to do so, by proposing to appoint Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his legate *à latere*.

Henry Beaufort, in the year 1417, being desirous of seeing something of the world, had started a pilgrim for the Holy Land. But all the world was now assembled at Constance; and he thought, that it might be profitable to himself, and that it would certainly be an agreeable detour, if he were to volunteer an appearance at the Council. He was the second of the sons of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford, and had been legitimatized in 1397. He made his appearance, therefore, with all the prestige attached to a member of the royal family

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of England; and he performed a part of some importance in the affairs of the Council, though on the side opposed to the policy of his country. To him was referred the settlement of a controversy, by which the Council was at this time divided. The imperial party, with whom the delegates of the Church of England and the reformers generally had sided, were earnest, that before the election of a pope, the Council should, under the guidance of the emperor, enact the reformations, for which there was an urgent demand. The cardinals, on the other hand, very generally insisted on the previous election of a pope; and under his presidency they declared themselves ready to effect the required reformations. The parties referred the case to the decision of the Bishop of Winchester. Beaufort decided upon the expediency of first electing the pope. His advice was followed: Martin V. was elected. The cause of reform, by that election, was delayed for a century. A conservative reaction in favour of the whole papal system may be dated from this time; and, as elsewhere, so also in England, Martin laboured incessantly not only to re-establish the papal supremacy, but to obliterate all the measures which had been adopted, during the schism, to render the national churches, such as the English and the Gallican, more independent and less corrupt.

Martin V. was not unmindful of the service which Beaufort had rendered to him, neither did he prove ungrateful. He knew that Beaufort looked forward to a future,—it might be distant,—when he might himself assume the tiara. In the November following his election as pope, he accordingly nominated Henry Beaufort a cardinal. When the news reached England, it was scarcely believed. It passed the boundaries of belief, that the pope would proceed to appoint an



English prelate to the cardinalate without first communicating with the Government. But this rumour was followed by another, which was still more difficult to believe, though it caused considerable excitement and alarm,—that the new cardinal was to be appointed a legate *à latere* for life. It was reported, besides this, that application had been made to the king, from whom no decided answer had been received, for permission to the cardinal to hold *in commendam* the bishopric of Winchester. This was virtually to supersede the primate, and to subjugate the Church of England to the Church of Rome: the real governor of the Church of England was, in this way, to be an officer of the Church of Rome, and not a successor of Augustine. This was an unheard-of usurpation. In every national church of Europe, at this time, it was admitted that the Bishop of Rome had certain rights, though these rights had never been clearly defined; but every national church was in itself as independent as was the Church of Rome itself. It was governed by its ordinaries, the pope having only extraordinary or visitational powers. When in our own time the King of England was king also of Hanover, he possessed and exercised certain rights as king, but the kingdom of Hanover was not merged in the kingdom of England. The people of Hanover would have resented an attempt to enforce upon them the observance of a law on the mere ground of its being an enactment of the English parliament, though they might accept the same law enjoined by the royal prerogative. The attempt to identify the Church of England with the Church of Rome, and to treat it simply as a Roman colony, to be governed by Roman officers—the design of Martin V.—was an unheard-of usurpation, though so craftily devised as not at once to be understood in all its

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bearings. Chicheley was alarmed lest the king should be induced to accede to the papal proposal in favour of his uncle; and he despatched, couched in strong though respectful terms, a letter to King Henry V., whom he thus addressed:—"Sovereign lord, as your humble priest and devout beadsman, I recommend me to your highness, desiring ever more to hear and know of your gracious speed, both of body and of soul; also of my lords your brethren, and all your royal host." He reminds the king that, in a letter dated from Caen, on the 25th of the preceding September, he had given his commands to the archbishop, the Duke of Bedford, and the chancellor, to prevent any communication between any persons of any estate or condition whatever, in the realm of England, and the newly-elected pope, until the election had been announced to the king; and until, according to the common law of England, the king had consented to receive as his pope the person so elected. The royal commands had been strictly observed, except in one instance, which rendered it necessary for the Council in England to receive fresh orders from the king. This, at the instance of the Duke of Bedford, the archbishop now sought.

The primate was bound by his allegiance to the king and by his duty to "the Church of your land, of the which," he says, "God and you, gracious lord, have made me governor," to open to him a certain matter which, at one time, was only whispered, but which now was openly affirmed, that his brother of Winchester was to be made a cardinal, and that application had been made to the king, or would be made, that he might hold with it his bishopric *in commendam*; that moreover the cardinal was to be appointed a legate *à latere*; and that, still further, he

was to retain the office of legate for his life, and to exercise the powers pertaining to it throughout the king's dominions. "Sovereign lord and most Christian prince," writes the archbishop with increasing energy, "what instance shall be made to your highness for this matter I wot not; but, blessed be Almighty God, under your worthy protection, your Church of England is at this day, I dare boldly say it, the most honourable Church Christian, as well as to divine service as to honest living therein, governed after strict laws and holy constitutions, without any great extortions or anything that turns to the scandal of your foresaid Church, or of your land, or any trespasses that cannot be corrected by the ordinaries, as the case may be." He then entreats the king to consider that, such being the case, there could be no good end answered by the establishment of such "a legacie" as had never been tolerated by any of his ancestors. As, owing to want of time on the king's part to consult the law books on the subject, and in the absence of books to which the lawyers in attendance on him might refer, the archbishop sends with his letter a scroll, containing a brief statement of the papal law by which legates *à latere* are vested with exorbitant powers. Besides these, he adds, what power the legate may have "in special of the pope's grace, no man can wot, for it standeth in his will to order whatever he might think fit." The archbishop declares, that by an inspection of the laws and chronicles, it could be proved, that there never was a legate *à latere* in any land, especially in the realm of England, except for some great and notable cause; and that even then, when the business for which the legacie was instituted had been accomplished, at the end of a year and a few months, the legate would depart. The appointment of a legate

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à latere for life was an unheard-of usurpation, which would tend largely to the oppression of the people and the subversion of the Church. "Wherefore, most Christian Prince and Sovereign Lord," says the archbishop in conclusion, "as your true priest, whom you have thought fit to set in so high an estate, which without your gracious lordship and supportation I know myself insufficient to occupy, I beseech you, in most humble wise that I can devise or think, that you will this matter take tenderly to heart, and see, that the state of the Church be maintained and sustained, so that every minister thereof hold him content with his own part: for truly he that hath least hath enow to reckon for. And that your poor people be not pyled nor oppressed with diverse exactions and unaccustomed demands, through which they should be the more feeble to refuse you, our liege lord, in time of need."*

Henry V. not only responded cordially to the patriotic sentiments of this letter; but he took up the cause of the Church of England and her primate with his accustomed enthusiasm, energy, and zeal. He refused to permit Beaufort to retain his bishopric if he accepted the cardinalate; and he went so far as to say, that he would rather see his uncle Beaufort invested with the imperial diadem of England, than hear of his being covered with the cardinal's hat.

We have before us another letter from Chicheley to the king, which must have been written in 1418. The king had desired his uncle, the Duke of Exeter, to confer with the archbishop about a successor to the Bishop of St. David's, lately dead, in the office of con-

* This was written at Lambeth, on the 6th of March. Indorsed—"Au Roy Nostre Souverain S." I have abbreviated the letter, and modernized the sentences, except when it seemed necessary to retain the exact words of the original.

fessor to the royal household, and they had agreed in their choice of a fit person who would be immediately despatched to join the army. The archbishop commends the piety of the king, who, amidst all the turmoils of war, ever thought of the spiritual welfare of himself and of his people. The king also applied to the archbishop for his licence to choose a private confessor for himself; and the primate sent him a licence, signed with his own seal, empowering the king to do, in that case, all that he would himself do if he were in the royal presence.

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We have an account, about this time, of some legal proceedings on the part of the archbishop which are interesting, as showing the manner in which the discipline of the Church was administered—that discipline being brought to bear on the high as well as the low, on the rich as well as the poor. A disturbance took place on Easter-day in the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. Several persons were wounded, and one Thomas Petwarden, a fishmonger, in endeavouring “to appease the tumult,” was slain. The church was, of course, desecrated by the murder. Lord Strange on the one side, and Sir John Russell on the other, each instigated by his wife, were accused of having originated the fray.

On the 20th of April, an investigation took place, at the church of St. Magnus, at which the archbishop presided. It came out in evidence, that the chief offenders were Lord and Lady Strange. They were excommunicated for the offence, and were directed to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Mayor, at St. Paul's church, on the 1st of May; that great holiday being purposely selected, in order that a deep impression might be made on the multitude unemployed. The archbishop and the mayor arrived

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in state on the day appointed. In the meantime a procession had been formed at St. Dunstan's church. Before the parson of the parish marched two and two, in their shirts, the servants of Lord Strange. Immediately after the parson walked Lord and Lady Strange, bareheaded and barefooted, amidst the jeerings of the people. The archdeacon closed the procession. Arrived at St. Paul's, the offenders made oath that they would observe the penance to be imposed. At the consecration of the desecrated church the lady was required to fill the vessels with water, and to offer some ornament for the altar to the value of ten pounds ; Lord Strange was to offer a pix of silver to the value of five pounds, and a fine was to be paid, of which the value is not specified, to the widow of the unfortunate Petwarden.\*

The first cloud which came over the brilliant and happy reign of Henry V. was in 1421, when the news arrived of the defeat and death of the Duke of Clarence, at Beauge, in Anjou. The king instantly prepared for action. He left his young wife, expecting her confinement, at Windsor, and, on the 11th of June, he landed at Calais. Intelligence soon came, that the invincible hero had captured Dreux ; and although he had been obliged to raise the siege of Orleans, he kept his Christmas at Paris. Thither the archbishop had despatched a messenger to convey to the king the happy intelligence that the heir to his crown had been born on St. Nicholas' day, 6th of December, 1421, and had been by the primate baptized.†

\* Ellis, i. 3. MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. xiii. fol. 20, *orig.* The confessor here mentioned was Stephen Patrington, a Carmelite bishop of St. David's, 1415 ; translated to Chichester Dec. 1417. He died before his translation could be perfected.

† Walsingham, ii. 312. The Chronicle mentions the presents made on the occasion.



The queen, when she had sufficiently recovered from the effects of her confinement, joined the king at the Chateau Bois de Vincennes, about a mile and a half from Paris, on the 21st of May. On the 5th of June, the news arrived, that the city of Meaux, after a desperate resistance, had surrendered to Henry. This good news, however, was soon followed by reports of the unsatisfactory state of the king's health; but, however great the anxiety occasioned by these reports may have been, the country was not prepared for the astounding intelligence of his death, which occurred at the Bois de Vincennes, on the 31st of August.

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Never was public grief more powerfully manifested. In addition to the grief he shared with the entire nation, Chicheley had to lament, in the death of King Henry, the loss of a friend, whom for his piety he revered, and upon whose wisdom, firmness, and courage, he had learned to lean for support in all the difficulties of his career. Attended by fifteen of his suffragans in their pontificals, the archbishop met the corpse, when it was brought into England; and his was the melancholy duty to consign the body of his royal master to the grave at Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

Nothing could exceed the splendour of the ceremonial. The body, embalmed, was brought first to St. Denys, thence to Notre Dame, at Paris; from Paris to Rouen, where the procession had been joined by the queen; from Rouen to Calais, to Dover, to Canterbury, to London. Wherever the corpse rested, masses were sung from the first dawn in the morning till nine o'clock. The funeral car was covered with vermillion silk, embroidered with gold, drawn by six horses. Upon it, besides the coffin, was laid an effigy of the king in all the splendour of royal array. Lamps were burning



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before and behind the funeral car. Two hundred and fifty surpliced torch-bearers walked on each side of the hearse, which was followed by five hundred men-at-arms, all in black armour, their lances pointed downwards.

To the archbishop an account was given of the last moments of his royal friend, who died as he had lived, in piety and penitence. At the same time, it is to be remarked that, instead of regarding the war as a sin, he laid the blame of any miseries which it might have occasioned upon those who resisted his entrance into his kingdom of France; and he expressed his desire not to renew the war, but to conduct it at the head of another Crusade.

The chancellorship being vacant when the first parliament of the new reign was called, that parliament was opened by a speech from the archbishop, who proved himself to be no prophet. He told the parliament that God, of His great mercy, had left issue to them of the most victorious Prince Henry, of the royal blood of France; he remarked that, as all perfections were comprised within the number of six, as the God-head had made all things in six days, so would His Divine Majesty accomplish the grand beginnings of the famous fifth Henry, in his son Henry the Sixth; whose will it was that all estates and persons should enjoy their full liberties.\*

On the death of Henry the Fifth, Chicheley determined to confine himself, as far as circumstances would permit, to his spiritual duties, and in the factions which disturbed the early portion of the reign of Henry the Sixth, he took no prominent part. He was attached to the party of Humphry, called the

\* Rot. Parl.

“good Duke of Gloucester,”\* but we find him occasionally employed in mediating between the faction of the duke and that of his opponent, Cardinal Beaufort.

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In 1423, he held a visitation of the dioceses of Chichester and Salisbury, and in the following year of the extensive diocese of Lincoln.

In the last year of Henry the Fifth's reign Chicheley had given directions for the erection of a college at Higham Ferrers, to which we shall have occasion hereafter more particularly to refer. He now availed himself of an opportunity to visit his native place. It was a visit of pleasure, commingled with laudable pride, if pride is ever allowable, both to himself and his townsmen.

In all that related to his spiritual duties the archbishop was indefatigable; and, although he had not the sagacity of a Luther, to penetrate to the root of the evils by which the Church was overshadowed, yet, wherever he went, he exerted himself to correct abuses, and he applied a practical mind to lay down some wise regulations for the future. He is said to have convened eighteen synods, or assemblies of the clergy; and although we find him occasionally appointing a deputy, it was only for a single day, so that he may be said to have presided over them all in person.

The conventions of the clergy, under Archbishop Chicheley, who had for his adviser the celebrated jurist William Lyndwood, began to approach the form and character of a modern convocation.

From the reign of Edward I. the kings had been

\* Humphry, duke of Gloucester, was called the “good duke,” probably because he was on the anti-papal, or popular side, and so was opposed to Beaufort, the representative of the papal party. He does not seem in any other sense to have deserved the title.

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accustomed to summon, not only the bishops and other prelates to parliament, but also a certain number of the inferior clergy, that, through them, their representatives, the clergy, might be taxed, at the same time, as the laity.

The parliamentary conventions were perfectly distinct from synods or councils, which were convened for spiritual purposes by the sole authority of the metropolitans of the respective provinces. A parliamentary convention of the clergy depended upon the royal will, though he required his mandate to be issued by the archbishop of the province;* a synod or council was summoned for church purposes only, by the archbishop with the royal permission.

The parliamentary convention was very unpopular, and was also found to be inconvenient in its working. The clergy were not fairly represented, and when the clergy, summoned under the *præmunientes* clause, had agreed to a tax, another meeting became frequently necessary to confirm the vote; for the clergy would not give up the right of taxing themselves. This meeting, called by the archbishop, assumed the character of a council, and occasionally legislated for the church. The kings by degrees found it expedient and less trouble to demand their subsidies from the councils so convened, and these councils were technically known as convocations. A convocation, therefore, gradually acquired a double character. It was both a State convention to grant a subsidy, and a synod to debate on church affairs. The members

* This was the *præmunientes* clause, so called from the first word thereof, which required the archbishops and bishops, when summoned to parliament, to summon also such of the inferior clergy to come with them as they might think sufficient to represent the whole body of the clergy. See Phillimore's Burns, 21.

acted in a twofold capacity—as members of the commonwealth, and as ministers of the Gospel. At first, when these assemblies assumed the form of convocations, they were summoned by the archbishop without any special mandate from the king. But when the clergy refused to grant subsidies in parliament, and asserted the right of taxing themselves in convocation, writs were issued compelling the metropolitans to summon a convocation, whenever the exigencies of the State required it.

By degrees the convocation assumed more and more of the synodal character; and the business was conducted by committees who reported to the president; the regulars forming one committee, the seculars another. In Chicheley's time the convocation, frequently though not always, debated in separate houses; though the lower house was then, as now, little more than a committee of the whole convocation, having no independent right of action. It was in the convocation of 1425, that we find the first appearance of a prolocutor, as presiding over the debates of the inferior clergy, and representing them in the upper house. On that occasion, the archbishop declared the cause of the convocation on the second day of meeting, and directed the deans, archdeacons, and proctors of the chapters and clergy, to withdraw into the lower house under the Chapter-house, and to choose from among themselves a referendary or prolocutor, who, in their stead, might deliver their sense and carry back the answer. The first prolocutor was William Lyndwood. In several subsequent convocations, however, no permanent prolocutor appears to have been chosen; but a chairman was appointed for the occasion. This fact is worthy of notice, since it shows that, as is the case with many of

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our institutions, there was no formal or theoretical scheme of ecclesiastical government designed or promulgated for convocation. The rights and duties of such assemblies gradually came into vogue, to meet the necessities of the case, as they, from time to time, arose. There was no jealousy or misunderstanding between the houses of parliament and the houses of convocation, but a desire to co-operate for the good of the joint constitution of Church and State. The clergy sitting in convocation were placed upon an equality with the members of parliament, and an act of parliament was passed which conferred upon the former all the immunities, and, among others, that of freedom from arrest, which were enjoyed by the latter.\*

It may be convenient here to take a general view of the proceedings of Chicheley in convocation, passing over, for a time, certain important transactions which intervened, and to which we shall have occasion to revert.

To the convocation of 1416 we have had occasion to refer, when speaking of the honour done to the northern saint, John of Beverley. It was also stated, that in the same convocation it was ordered that inquiries should be made in every suspected place, twice a year, for the discovery of heretics. Information was to be given respecting those who were accustomed to frequent conventicles, who differed in their conduct from the generality of the faithful, and who possessed prohibited books in the vulgar tongue.†

\* Gibson, 974.

† Wake, State of the Church. Phillimore's Burns, ii. 18, *et seq.* Regist. Chicheley MS. Heylin Tracts, 703. Hody (426) observes that from the reign of Henry VI., and so downwards, the inferior clergy appeared so seldom, if at all, in parliament, that in the

The trials for heresy had generally been conducted in the ecclesiastical courts, but at this period they were transferred to convocation. Heresy had assumed such new forms, that probably it was found necessary to bring the accused before a synod,—the powers of a synod differing widely from those of an ecclesiastical court. In the ecclesiastical court the judge can only administer the law ; and, by a skilful advocate, a man notoriously guilty of heresy may be proved, though violating the spirit of the law, not to have transgressed the letter. In the ancient councils, which established the precedent for provincial synods, a new law might at once be passed, or rather, the wording of an old canon might be corrected so as to prevent the evasion of the dishonest. This is indeed a power so vast and dangerous, that it would not be tolerated in these days ; but at a time when the object was to nip heresy in the bud, rather than to discover the means by which an offender might escape, it was not regarded with suspicion. Heresy and treason were at this time in such close alliance, that the complaint against the clergy, on the part of the laity, was not that they exercised an inquisitorial power, but that they endangered the Government by being remiss in their search after heretics. It was not that a zeal existed for the repression of heresy,

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parliament rolls of that and the succeeding reigns, the three estates of the realm are alluded to as the "Bishops, Lords, and Commons," though in reality the three estates are, the Clergy, Lords, and Commons. When the above was written I had not the advantage of being acquainted with Mr. Joyce's "England's Sacred Synods," a very valuable work to those who desire to become conversant with the history of our convocations. I think, upon comparing what has been stated above with what has been advanced by him, that our statements will be found to correspond. Our authorities must be nearly the same.

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but that a fear prevailed that heretics designed the overthrow of the civil as well as of the ecclesiastical government.

When the clergy met for the discharge of their judicial functions, they met not as in convocation, but as a synod, and they sat in one house. As judges of heresy, they condemned heretical books to be burnt; and when heretics were brought before them they displayed an anxiety to induce them to avoid the penalties of the law by prevailing upon them to recant. When, at a later period of our history, it was the policy, inflamed by passion, of a large party to attack the hierarchy, it was customary to represent every bishop and ecclesiastical judge as a bloodthirsty inquisitor; and, as proof of their persecuting spirit, mention was made of the prisons attached to the ecclesiastical courts, or the episcopal residences which were called Lollard Towers. But as we have before remarked, these prisons, or Lollard Towers, were intended to enable men to escape the severer penalties of the law. The ecclesiastical judge could inflict no severer punishment than imprisonment. If a heretic were left then in the hands of the ecclesiastical officers, his life was spared. A man convicted of heresy might be handed over to the civil authority, and by that authority he would be burnt; or, instead of being handed over to the civil authority, he might in the first instance be delivered to his diocesan. By his diocesan he could only be imprisoned. During his imprisonment he might be led to recant, and, on recanting, he would be required to enter into his recognizances for his good conduct for the future, and then he would be dismissed. So frequently was this the case, that the zealots of an heretical party hated a Lollard Tower more than they did the pope. It is important to bear

this in mind, when we hear of Chicheley's building the Lollard Tower at Lambeth. He was certainly not a bloodthirsty man; and though we have no particular reason for upholding the cause of bishops, of whose delinquencies I have not been slow to speak, we must remember, that they also are God's creatures, and are not of necessity more hard-hearted than other judges. Man is a fierce and terrible animal—of all animals the most remorseless when his passions are roused and his blood is boiling. Awful is the infidel fanatic, as we see him in the French Revolution; awful the religious fanatic, as he is exhibited to us in the French De Montfort, and the authors of the Inquisition. But, in quiet times, the leaning of man's heart is to the side of mercy; and even when it is supposed that the public peace requires the adoption of strong measures, the tendency is to rescue a fellow-creature from the extreme penalties of a law, in upholding which the Infidel and the Christian may be equally firm.

There were several prosecutions for heresy, but the only one which is remarkable as indicating an advance in freedom of thought, is that of Thomas Bayly, who, in 1428, was accused of saying that the consecrated Host was in its nature true bread and wine, and only the Body and Blood of our Lord in figure. Such an assertion had not been hazarded by Wiclif, and marks the progress of the intellectual movement.* The same convocation is to be mentioned with respect, for having granted a subsidy to the king, while refusing it to the pope's nuncio.

In 1430, delegates were appointed by convocation to the Council of Basil; and a constitution was issued

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* Wilkins, iii. 515-17.

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by the Archbishop of Canterbury with the sanction of convocation, which is the more extraordinary, as it relates to what we should regard as a matter purely secular, belonging not to convocation but to parliament. It is the more important to notice it, as it shows the manner in which secular matters were gradually drawn into the ecclesiastical courts, a subject upon which we have already treated. The ecclesiastical lawyers argued that the subject of the constitution came within the jurisdiction of the Court Christian, because it related to honesty; and honesty was a moral virtue, of which the ecclesiastical courts might have cognizance. After a preamble, in which the iniquity of the age is considered, the archbishop proceeds:—

“Public fame and certain experience assure us that there are many trickish chapmen in some cities, boroughs, and other places of our province, who, without regard to their salvation, use to buy of simple folk and others, wool, flax, honey, and wax, and other necessities, by a greater measure and greater weight commonly called *le auncell*, otherwise *schest*, or *pounder*, in a fraudulent manner and to sell the same; and others iron, steel, pitch, and rosin, and other commodities by lesser measure and weights called *aboyr de poyrs*, otherwise *lyggynge wyghtys*, to the great hazard of their souls, and the robbing of the poor and such simple folk, and the intolerable injury of others who do not observe that the said auncel weight is (so) vulgarly called on account of some hidden falsities and frauds therein used.”*

* Johnson, i. 489. The second edition of Johnson remarks that “the name ‘auncel’ seems clearly to be a Norman form, derived from the compound Anglo-Saxon verb ‘handyryllan,’ to give or sell with the hand, to which may also be traced the English word ‘handsel.’ The instrument used is described as a beam or shaft, with scales or hooks at each end, which, being raised on the fore-

The archbishop took occasion also to regulate the fees received by the various ecclesiastical officers, in remuneration for the discharge of their duties. Bishops and archdeacons were forbidden to receive more than twelve shillings, the former for the institution, and the latter for the induction, of clerks; and no gratuity or demand whatever was to be made for ordinations. This was ordered to meet the complaints of the inferior clergy, who were joining with many of the laity in complaining that persons were now preferred to the highest positions in the Church, through court favour; some of whom had not even obtained a university degree; while many, through their ignorance of civil and canon law, were incompetent to discharge with effect the duties of their respective offices. A constitution rendering it imperative for persons in high ecclesiastical positions, to be graduates at one or other of the universities, was issued by Chicheley in 1432.

The disputes between the cardinals and the popes, and the bold attempt which had been made to subjugate the pope to a general council, had set men's minds thinking. Though the time had not come when a remedy for the existing evils could be suggested, yet the great work of this century,—sometimes called the *Sæculum Synodale*,—was, that it impressed upon the European mind the great fact, that a reformation had become a necessity. It might be delayed, but it was sure to come. It was delayed by the political sagacity and the statesmanlike qualities of Pope Martin V. The clergy of the national churches of Europe had long regarded the pope as an adversary rather than a finger or hand, served to show the equality or difference of the weight and the thing weighed." See Phillip's Eng. Dict., Auncelweig. Somner, Dict. Sax., Handyllan.

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friend. This was especially the case with respect to the English and the Gallican churches. The pope had his own objects in view, and those objects were often not consistent with the interests of a national church. The demand from Rome was for money. To resist, or to evade the demand where it could not be resisted, was the interest of the clergy no less than of the laity. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, there was throughout Western Europe a good understanding between the clergy and laity, the civil and the ecclesiastical governments. They were prepared to unite their forces in an attack upon Rome. At the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, the attack had been made. If it had been established then, that the pope was the servant and vassal of a council; if a council could have established itself as the superior of the pope, then the pope, in the modern sense of that title, would have been extinct. The Council of Constance was not so much a synod of the Church, as it was a European congress. It was apparently successful. It was frustrated in the mid-career of victory by the Macchiavellian arts of Roman diplomacy. It lacked a master-mind to enable it to reap the fruits of victory. Its zeal was wasted, when, from pure exhaustion, it retired from the field of battle. It had been convened to give liberty to the national churches of Europe; but, in electing Otho Colonna to the papacy, it gave a master to Christendom.

By Martin V. a new æra was established. The interest of every national church was from this time to be identified with the Church of Rome, and the pope was to be the universal bishop. It was Martin V. who established the principle and sowed the seed, which was to be developed into Ultramontanism.

The system of Hildebrand was now to be superseded, or to give place to a scheme of government more adapted to the exigencies of the time, if Rome was still to be in the ascendant. The reader who has perused these volumes, will have seen that by Gregory VII. the independent action of national churches had been recognised and allowed. The Bishop of Rome claimed not ordinary, but only extraordinary jurisdiction,—the jurisdiction of a visitor or of the judge in a court of final appeal. The Ordinary is the ecclesiastical superior who has jurisdiction, not by way of deputation or delegation, but in his own proper right. He is called the ordinary, because he has judicial cognizance, in his own right, of all causes arising within the territorial limits of his jurisdiction. He is opposed to persons extraordinarily appointed—to the *judex delegatus*, or extraordinary—whose jurisdiction extends only to such causes as are specifically delegated to him, either by some superior authority, or by some law under certain circumstances overriding the ordinary jurisdiction.* Not to mention inferior ordinaries, such as archdeacons; the bishops were ordinaries of their dioceses, subject to the extraordinary jurisdiction of their respective metropolitans. According to the Hildebrandine system, the metropolitans were ordinaries in their provinces, subject to an appeal to the see of Rome, and to the constitution by that see of an extraordinary judge in special cases. But now the pope claimed to be the universal ordinary; the bishops of the national churches, only acting as his delegates, were to obey his orders. Hence we shall find from this

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* He is called *Ordinarius*, “*quia habet ordinarium jurisdictionem, in jure proprio, et non per deputationem.*” Co. Litt. 96, *a.* See Lindwood, lib. i. tit. 3; Swinb. 380; Ayliffe’s Parergon, 309.

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time, the continual appointment of legates *à latere*, to control the metropolitans,—to do that which Henry V. would have sacrificed his crown rather than tolerate. This almost immediately was developed into modern Romanism.

The battle of Ultramontanism, thus originating, was fought by Rome against the Anglican and the Gallican churches, with various success. At the Reformation, the Anglican church re-established its independence. For some time, the battle in France was doubtful, but Gallicanism was overthrown at the Revolution; and it has ever been the policy of the Bonaparte dynasty to ally itself with Rome, and to permit Ultramontane despotism to establish itself in France.

From the commencement of the fifteenth century, there were always men in the Church of England resolute in resisting the new pretensions urged by the successors of Martin; but the battle between Ultramontanism and Anglicanism continued, until the master mind and resolute will of Queen Elizabeth placed the Church on its present anti-papal basis.

Martin V., when he had resolved on his policy, made a violent attack upon the English Government, and attempted to compel the primate of all England to act simply as the pope's representative and delegate. We are in possession of a correspondence, comprising twenty letters, which passed between the papal and English governments, and between the pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury.\*

\* See Wilkins, iii. 471, *et seq.* The letters in Wilkins are printed from the Register of Booth, bishop of Hereford. There are some obvious inaccuracies in the transcription, and there is no attempt at chronological arrangement. The letters are printed from



The violent outbreaks of temper and the insolent tone of mind displayed by Martin V. are truly offensive, but he kept his object steadily before him; and as there may be method in madness, so also was it discernible in the pope's anger. The personal attack made upon Chicheley, who represented that principle of a national church which Martin sought to overthrow, certainly intimidated the primate; and if his conduct on this occasion did not correspond to what, judging from his antecedents, we should have expected, we must remember that the circumstances in which Chicheley was placed were new; that he had no precedents to guide him; and that his health was infirm, while, as is sometimes the case with long livers, he had become prematurely old.

The wrath of Martin was excited by the statute of *præmunire*. It was part of his policy to array the Church against the Government, and it was consistent with that policy to permit himself, on such a subject, to be lashed into a perfect frenzy. Against what he was accustomed to call "the execrable statute," he wrote angry letters to the king and to the parliament. The simple-minded and single-hearted archbishop, not divining the pope's object, thought that he had been urged on to his present course by the intrigues of Beaufort and his party. He asserted, therefore, that the Duke of Gloucester and he—the archbishop himself—had been misrepresented, if the pope supposed that they were hostile to his holiness. He

another manuscript, the Petyt MSS. in Burnet's collections, and have been collated with the original by the learned editor of the new Oxford edition, Mr. Pocock. They do not occur in Chicheley's Register at Lambeth. The archbishop may have been ashamed of the correspondence, and may have desired its suppression.

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affirmed, that nothing but his old age prevented him from waiting upon the pope in person, and explaining to him the manoeuvres of a faction, whose evident object was to shorten his days by involving him in all this trouble, or to compel him to resign his archbishopric. He wrote also to the cardinals, and retained one of their number by a pension of forty English nobles for the purchase of wine, to act as his counsel, and to plead his cause, whenever he might be attacked by the Beaufort party.

Chicheley acted on the old principle. He regarded the Bishop of Rome as the first among the bishops, and as he admitted that the pope possessed certain undefined powers in the Church of England, he sought to conciliate him. But this was precisely the point which Martin combated, and the mode of Chicheley's submission only exasperated him the more. As for his "beloved son Humphrey, duke of Gloucester," what right had Chicheley to take up his cause, when against him not one word had been uttered by the pope? His complaint was not against the duke but against Chicheley, and against him only. As for what the archbishop had said in vindication of his own conduct, and his respect for the pope; Martin insolently tells the aged primate, speaking to him as if he were a schoolboy in disgrace, that he must rebut the charges brought against him, not by words, but by actions: "Labour, therefore," he says, "with all your might, that the execrable statute enacted against the liberty of the Church be repealed, and neither observe it yourself, nor let it be observed by others. . . . This if you neglect to do, no declaration of your good will to us and the Holy See will be of avail. One other thing we have heard, and cannot refrain from mentioning. We have heard that you have stated that the Holy See desires

the abolition of this statute for the purpose of gaining money." This charge he indignantly, and probably with justice on his side, repudiates. It was not for money that he was now contending, but for a new position in the church and realm of England.\*

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Chicheley was not equal to the crisis. He looked at the past through spectacles dimmed by old age ; and was disheartened by the evident defeat of the reform party at Basil. Martin knew perfectly well, that the statutes of provisors and præmunire were passed with the full concurrence, or, as we have seen, in some measure, at the instigation of the bishops and clergy. They had united with the laity in measures which would free them from those pecuniary burdens which the popes of Rome endeavoured, on various pleas, to impose upon the clergy. Nothing was more probable, than that Chicheley had frequently used the old arguments in defence of these enactments : " If you repeal the statutes," he would ask, " what safeguard have you against papal exactions ?" He did not see Martin's point. The statutes ignored the pope's jurisdiction except in extraordinary cases ; and therefore they were peculiarly obnoxious to one who was seeking to establish an ordinary jurisdiction for the pope, at least in things spiritual. I am inclined to think, that this was the real object he had in view when he now offered a gratuitous insult to the see of Canterbury. He addressed his mandate to the two metropolitans of England, and headed it thus : " Martinus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Eboracensi

\* Wilkins, Conc. iii. 473. A wrong date is given to this letter in Wilkins, " tertio " being printed by mistake for " decimo." The Petyt MS. assigns the letter to the tenth, instead of the third year of Martin's pontificate.

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et Cantuariensi Archiepiscopis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem." That Martin was not displeased at an opportunity of offering an insult to Chicheley, is very conceivable: but there would be such extreme littleness of mind in offering such a petty insult as to name the Metropolitan of York before the Primate of all England, that we are unwilling to suppose, that a mind so powerful as that of Martin would be guilty of it, if he had not some further and more immediate object in view. His conduct on this occasion was, at all events, in accordance with what he wished to advance as the facts of the case. He was now trying to establish the principle, on which subsequent popes were henceforth to act, that the highest metropolitan in a national church was only a delegate of the pope; and that, therefore, it remained for him to decide, as policy might dictate, as to the precedence of the one before the other. They were both equal in his eyes, both were to act as his servants, and it mattered little whether he named first the Archbishop of York or the Archbishop of Canterbury: the question of their precedence was, he would insinuate, beneath his notice. This view of the case is borne out by the letter itself, which is too long for transcription; but the purport of it is to denounce the two primates and their suffragans for their being in the habit of utterly disregarding all papal provisions. The provisions were contrary to the laws of the land; by them the rights of a patron were for that time superseded, and the papal nominee demanded institution or collation, as the case might be. It was notorious that the hierarchy of the Church of England were accustomed to obey the law of the land by which their own rights were protected; and in spite of papal remonstrances, to reserve the right of the nomination

for patrons. The pope now required the metropolitans to obey his orders, whether in accordance with the law of the land or not; under the penalty, that, if they refused to grant the pope the nomination *pro hac vice*, they should be subjected, themselves individually, to excommunication; and then should be deprived of the benefice, the collation to which had hitherto belonged to them either of right or by custom.

The aged archbishop was intimidated; but the blood of the English clergy was roused, and they were prepared to resent and resist this attack on their independence. Most gratifying to the good archbishop must have been the universal burst of indignation when the pope, instigated by the Beaufort faction, and retorting upon Chicheley the charge of a love of money, accused the munificent primate of accumulating an immense fortune to the destruction of his own soul. The suffragans of Canterbury volunteered a letter to the pope, in which they say of their father of Canterbury, that in the government entrusted to him, he is so efficient in business and careful in management, that by the whole body of the realm (although peradventure by a few ill-disposed persons it may chance to be otherwise reported) he is considered a faithful steward and a prudent; and so humble is he, and benign in deed as well as in word, so industrious and so watchful in the exercise of the charge committed to him, and modest in his governance, that by the whole college of the clergy he is called a pious father and a pacific pastor, to whom, in the bond of peace, all other prelates cling, and that without any cause or matter of complaint.\*

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\* Wilkins, iii. 471, where this letter is misplaced. Among them the name of Beaufort does not appear, and it is to the Beaufort faction that an allusion is made in the letter.

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The University of Oxford came forward on the occasion, and it is due to Chicheley that we give an excerpt from their letter. They boldly state, that "all the princes throughout the limits of our realm know, the nobles know, and the poor proclaim, that our said most reverend father is, in the church of our nation, not a ravening wolf, but a good shepherd, not a reed following the blast of avarice, but a firm column of our most holy mother Church. We wonder, therefore," they said, in conclusion, "that any one at your most Holy See, laying aside the fear of God, has dared to open his mouth with lying words against a father so modest and pious, radiant with virtues on all sides; for he is here a mirror of life, a vessel of virtues, a lantern of manners, a support in council, beloved by the people, and the especial help of the clergy, of which it behoves us to be witnesses, since many graduates of our University whom advancement in morals and learning has fitted for the cure of souls, have by our father aforesaid, by provident collation to benefices, been called into the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth."*

The Lords temporal united with the Lords spiritual, and with the University of Oxford, in bearing testimony to the merits of the popular primate, the friend of the hero Henry V. Having alluded to the attacks deceitfully and wickedly made upon him, the Lords proceed, "with a clear conscience, to bear witness that the venerable father, adorned with the grace of manifold virtues, is as acceptable to our dread lord the king as to the realm and whole people of England. He devotes himself to his charge, like a good shepherd, with watchful diligence, to the praise of God, to the

* Wilkins, iii. 477.

benefit of the Church, to the relief of the poor, no less faithfully than prudently. Seeking not his own, but the things that are of Jesus Christ, he has for the quiet and peace of his suffragans, and of all who are subject to him, confined his jurisdiction within the limits prescribed to the archbishops who preceded him, and from all undue exactions he has carefully abstained."

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From this we gather that the Beaufort party was in league with the pope; but that the great bulk of the nation, and the houses both of parliament and convocation, sided with the Duke of Gloucester and Archbishop Chicheley. The Beaufort party sought to strengthen itself by a foreign alliance, and against that alliance, and consequently against the papal aggression, the Gloucester party took their stand. Beaufort, as the representative of the papists, has appeared in history with his character drawn in darker colours than it deserves; and his nephew, though he was by no means a good man, yet, because he was the advocate of national independence, has come down to us with the highest of all titles—"the good Duke of Gloucester."

A report now reached England, that Martin had determined to carry out a measure which had previously been attempted, though frustrated by the vigilance of Chicheley and the strong hand of Henry V. The pope, it was said, had determined to send a legate *à latere* to England, thus to supersede the Archbishop of Canterbury; and that Beaufort was to be the man. Chicheley did not on this occasion show that vigour of mind he had on a former occasion displayed; we may even say that, through the weakness of the archbishop, the court of Rome now carried its point.

The pope, as we have seen, had claimed to be "Ordinarius Ordinariorum." As such he assumed the

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right to supersede the Archbishop of Canterbury by his legate *à latere*, always residing in England, and acting as his representative. It is necessary that we continually bear this resolution in mind,—this establishment of popery in England in the modern sense of the word, and this submission to the usurpation on the part of the Church of England, until the time of the Reformation,—if we would understand the position of Chicheley and his successors.

To avert the threatened evil was now the object of Chicheley ; but he had to deal with a will more powerful than his own. The news reached England that the pope, in his violent rage against Chicheley as the head of the anti-papal party in England, had instituted proceedings against him at Rome, with a view to his deprivation. Against this proceeding Chicheley wrote indignantly, but in submissive terms, evidently doubtful as to the real extent of the pope's power. He solemnly protested against a proceeding unprecedented from the time of Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, till that very hour. It was reported, that certain bulls had arrived in England containing a suspension of the archbishop, so far as the primate of England could be suspended by any act of the pope. The Government, with which Chicheley acted, had been warned in time of what might be expected, and orders were issued that, if any bulls arrived, they were to be delivered by the archbishop, with the seals unbroken, to the king ; to be laid up, in the proper office, until the meeting of parliament.

Although the bulls, however, were not officially received, their contents were soon known, and the archbishop was prepared to appeal from the pope to a general council. He pursued, in fact, the course which

was afterwards adopted by his successor, Archbishop Cranmer. Of this appeal we have three forms, differing from each other in certain particulars, and varying in date. They were evidently drafts of a proposed appeal; but while the archbishop was debating in his mind which to adopt, he received a missive from the pope. It is an abusive document, in which Archbishop Chicheley is denounced by Pope Martin, as a man utterly ignorant of his duty, a dumb dog which could not bark, a coward who had seen the apostolic see treated with contempt without uttering a remonstrance even in secret.

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By "the execrable statute of *præmunire*," writes the pope, "the King of England assumes the spiritual jurisdiction, and governs the Church as completely in ecclesiastical affairs, as if he had been constituted by Christ his vicar;" he accuses him, in fact, of claiming, as his ancestors had done, to be, in all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, within his dominions, supreme. The pope descends into particulars, and affirms, that the King of England "makes laws over the Church of England, and over the clerical order; that he draws the cognizance of ecclesiastical causes into his temporal courts, and makes as many provisions about clerks, benefices, and the condition of ecclesiastics, as if the keys of the kingdom of heaven were put into his hands; and as if the superintendence of these affairs had been entrusted to him and not to St. Peter. Besides this wicked arrangement, he has added certain viper-like penalties against the Roman clergy, such as are not promulgated even against Jews and Saracens. Persons of all persuasions and countries have the liberty of coming into England, but those alone who have cures bestowed upon them by the

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supreme bishop, the vicar of Jesus Christ, are ordered to be banished, seized, imprisoned, despoiled of their property ; and if any proctors, notaries, or others, charged with the execution of the mandates of the apostolic see, or others conveying any censure or process from that see into the kingdom, happen to set foot in it, they are subjected to extreme punishment, and placed out of the king's protection. Mark whether such an iniquity ever passed into a statute. Consider whether such statutes as these are for the honour of the kingdom or the king. Reflect whether it becomes you to remain silent beholding such things, and not rather to exclaim against them, to refuse and resist with all your might." This is a very remarkable document. It shows how independent the Church of England had been before the time of Martin ; and that the royal supremacy which Henry VIII. afterwards claimed, was merely the revival of a royal prerogative that only ceased to exist in the fifteenth century.

Chicheley might still have maintained his own if he had been what he once was. But the Beaufort party saw the weakness of the aged primate ; and the pope, at their instigation, proceeded from vituperations to threats. It was announced to Chicheley that, unless the statutes of provisors and of præmunire were repealed, the country would be placed under an interdict. A papal interdict would in those days have been a *brutum fulmen* ; but Chicheley was not in advance of the age, and, at the thought of an interdict, he trembled. There was no doubt that, according to ancient precedent, the power of placing a country under an interdict rested entirely with the pope ; and enough was known of Martin V. to convince the archbishop that there was no power that

he was not prepared, upon an emergency, to exercise. The piety of Chicheley, increasing as years advanced, made him shrink with horror from the responsibility of depriving the whole nation of the comfort of religious ordinances, to say nothing of the danger to which, according to his notions, the souls of men would be exposed. He could not, however, persuade his suffragans, as a body, to participate in his fears. They saw their independence, their rights, their patronage, their status, their ordinary jurisdiction now, for the first time, ignored by the pope; and they were not prepared to forego their privileges as independent bishops, or to act as the mere delegates and ministers of a foreign potentate; although that potentate was one whose superiority, within certain constitutional limits, they were not in a condition to deny.

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To avert the miseries of an interdict, Chicheley, however, was prepared to apply for the repeal of those statutes of provisors and *præmunire*, in the sustentation of which, as we have frequently shown, the clergy of the national Church were as much interested as the laity, for they were designed originally to protect their property from papal exaction. The Archbishop of Canterbury could only obtain the concurrence of four bishops and of the Archbishop of York, together with the abbots of Westminster and Reading. He determined, nevertheless, to obey orders and make application to parliament. The others would not defy the pope; but they stood aloof. The House of Commons assembled in the refectory of Westminster Abbey, and here they agreed to receive the archbishop. The House had been elected under the auspices of the Gloucester government, and were friendly, of course,

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to the archbishop, who was of the Gloucester party a leader. Chicheley delivered an oration, which, as usual, assumed the form of a sermon. He took for his text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." He laboured as a lawyer, who felt that he had a bad cause, to establish the right of the pope to make provisions; the professed object being to provide against the evils which would result to the Church if an important benefice should remain long without an occupant; and also to procure the means of supporting persons engaged in the service of the Church at large, each particular church being of course interested in what concerned the whole. When the poor archbishop touched upon the miseries which would result from the interdict, the tears flowed down his face.

The Commons pitied the good old man—the munificent, the patriotic archbishop—but they did not share in his alarm. They might have modified the Acts so as to have rendered Provisions, under certain conditions, legal. Instead of this, they determined upon a petition to the king to uphold the rights of the Church of England against the papal aggression. In their petition they affirmed, that by bringing an action against the primate of all England, the pope had offered an insult to the Church of Canterbury, "which we be all holden to worship and sustain as much as in us is;" and they petitioned, that the king should direct his ambassadors to demand of the pope a suspension of those proceedings, and to pray him not to give credence to any reports against the archbishop.\*

\* Rot. Parl. iv. 322. Acts of Privy Council, iii. 301.



An embassy was despatched to Rome to effect these objects, but it was of little service. Martin felt that he had triumphed. He had intimidated the archbishop, whose opposition to papal interests had made him unpopular at Rome; he had compelled the primate to act as his representative; he had, through him, assailed the civil government of the country; he had established a precedent. Henceforth the Church of England, to the time of the Reformation, was to be accounted only as a branch of the Church of Rome; and at the head of what had hitherto been the national Church, was to be, not the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the Bishop of Rome.

Chicheley saw this; he felt this; but he could not suggest a remedy; he knew that the pope was assuming a new character; but Chicheley was not quite certain what his own position was, or what it ought to be. He was not equal to the crisis. The pope, however, proceeded with such precipitance and rashness, as to provoke a resistance in England, which led eventually to a compromise between the two parties, the one headed by the archbishop, and the other by Henry Beaufort.

The news arrived in England, that on the 23d of June, 1426, Henry Beaufort had been nominated a cardinal under the title of St. Eusebius. The pope had dared to do, under the weak government of Henry VI., what he had not ventured to attempt, when on the throne of England sat Henry V. Nevertheless a burst of indignation at the insult offered to the national Church and its primate from the great majority of the nation, whether in parliament or out of it, and from the clergy, whether members of convocation or not, warned the new cardinal that, if he would

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retain his footing in England, he must proceed with caution.

Beaufort was a politician rather than a scholar or divine, and he had no intention to serve the pope at his own expense. He had two objects in view. He had desired the cardinal's hat that he might be qualified to become a candidate for the tiara, when next the papal throne might be vacant; and he desired to retain the rich see of Winchester that he might be able, through it, to amass the wealth by which the votes of the cardinals might be purchased. He proceeded now with great caution. His appointment was more unpopular than he expected it to have been. He therefore immediately resigned the chancellorship, to which he had been appointed in 1424, and petitioned for permission to leave the country that he might go on a pilgrimage. He won the Duke of Bedford to his party, and, when no one in England would perform its office, the Duke of Bedford invested Beaufort with the insignia, on English ground in Calais. Beaufort gave out, that he had accepted the cardinal's hat merely that he might act as the papal general and command the pope's forces against the Hussites in Bohemia; and, recruiting in England, he made this an excuse to win the people by a lavish, though well-directed, expenditure of money. His party was winning its way gradually in the Privy Council and in parliament; and, though he did not venture to make his appearance in England until the end of the year 1428 or the beginning of 1429, yet when he did appear he found himself so well supported, that he was quite prepared to meet his opponents. An attempt was made to involve him in the penalties of a *præmunire* by accepting the red hat without the royal permission

first obtained ; and, on referring to the precedents of Langham and Kilwardby, the attorney-general and the king's serjeants demanded of the great Council, that the Cardinal of St. Eusebius should be removed from the see of Winchester, and be made to refund what revenues he had received since his appointment to the cardinalate : but the enemies of Beaufort did not succeed.*

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In these proceedings Chicheley took part, though not perhaps a very active one. I find his name among those of the Privy Council in 1431 who ordered writs of præmunire and attachment upon the statute against the cardinal.

By the good management of Beaufort, and the moderation of Chicheley, the controversy was brought to a conclusion in 1432 ; when a bill of indemnity, as we should now style it, was passed, relieving Beaufort from any pains and penalties he might have incurred for violations, through his intercourse with Rome, of any of the statutes of the realm. He was permitted to resume his place in the Council on condition that he abstained from attendance if any matter was discussed which related to the pope ; and he was allowed to retain his bishopric, on his taking an oath in parliament, that he would exercise no branch of his office in derogation of the royal prerogative, or without the royal licence.

It was not, indeed, so much against Beaufort's having the dignity of cardinal conferred upon him, that Chicheley protested, as against his assumption of the powers of a legate *à latere* ; and, when he was

* See Acts of Privy Council, iii. 100, 101, 195, 294, 305, 308. Rot. Parl. iv. 338.

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satisfied, that with his functions as primate of all England there was no intention on the part of Beaufort to interfere, Chicheley was unwilling to prolong the controversy. He assisted the cardinal in recruiting for the crusade against the Hussites. There was no dispute of precedence between Cardinal Beaufort and the archbishop; the precedence of a member of the royal family being readily conceded by Chicheley. But this question was raised when Kemp, archbishop of York, was, in 1439, advanced to the cardinalate.* Archbishop Kemp claimed precedence of Archbishop Chicheley in the House of Lords. The claim, so far as the House of Lords was concerned, was so preposterous, that it was soon settled. A cardinal was a foreign prince; but no foreigner could of right possess a seat in the English parliament. Kemp could only appear there as holding a barony, and the barony he held had not precedence of the barony held by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the controversy went further than this, and the question arose, whether, under ordinary circumstances, a cardinal had precedence of an archbishop in his own province. On this subject, Chicheley, who was ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of peace, permitted the matter to be decided by the pope, though he must

* The office of cardinal had advanced in dignity since we last had occasion to refer to this subject. Cardinals now ranked next to the pope, whether they were bishops or not. They formed part, as it were, of the royal family of Rome, and as such were placed upon an equality with the other European princes. The red hat with tassels had been assigned to them by Innocent IV. in 1245. It was not till a few years after Chicheley's time, in 1464, that the purple cloak was given them by Paul II. The title of "Eminence" they did not receive till 1630, when it was conferred by Urban VIII. —Bomberger's Herzog, 575.

have been aware beforehand of what the pope's decision would be. It was as follows :—

“That the first degree in the Church next to the papacy, belonged to the cardinals; that they were those venerable priests mentioned by Moses in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy; that they were afterwards instituted by St. Peter, and were to be accounted as members of the pope's body, and that the whole Church did turn upon them as upon its hinges. Seeing therefore that it hath obtained by the customs and constitutions of particular churches, that in the same province a priest should take place of a deacon, a bishop of a priest, and an archbishop of a bishop, that much more the laws of the Catholic Church ought to be universally observed, for as every archbishop presides in his own province, so the cardinals are set over the Universal Church by the pope. Lastly, he exhorted and intreated the archbishop to submit to the customs of the Church of Rome, and give place to the cardinal, promising both him and the whole see of Canterbury all the kindnesses that could be expected from a most affectionate Father.”*

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Chicheley having yielded, a licence was given to Kemp to assume the rank of cardinal in England. The licence, which is dated the 4th of February, 1440, is highly complimentary. The laudable works of Archbishop Kemp are acknowledged, and the pope is thanked for the appointment. The archbishop has permission to retain the see of York and its emoluments; and, at the same time, a dispensation is granted by which he may hold any preferments which may be conferred upon him in foreign churches.

We find Chicheley and the cardinal sitting on the trial of the unfortunate wife of the Duke of Gloucester,

* This letter is quoted by Duck from Cardinal Jacobatius's Book of Councils.

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commonly called Dame Eleanor. Chicheley did not take, and was not likely to take, an active part in these extraordinary proceedings. He appears to have opened the court, and either from ill health or from an unwillingness to act, to have appointed a commission to conduct the proceedings.* We cannot, however, allude to this affair without remarking on the extent to which a belief in the existence and machinations of witches and wizards prevailed in the fifteenth century.

It is well known that at the battle of Barnet, when the field was obscured by a mist, it was the belief, on either side, that this mist had been produced in favour of King Edward by Friar Bungay—the potent magician, whose spells were supposed to have raised the wind that kept Margaret of Anjou from the shores of England. In the synod which met in the year 1410, a prosecution was directed, not only, as we have seen, against certain lollards who recanted, but also against Richard Walker, a priest, in the diocese of Worcester, who was accused of witchcraft. Several books, waxen images, stones, and other instruments of charms and conjurations, were produced ; and the accused, having done a solemn penance, went in procession to St. Paul's. At Paul's Cross a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bangor, and the books were burnt. As no one now believes in witchcraft, these unfortunate sufferers have

* In the English Chronicle, published by the Camden Society, 1377-1461, there is an interesting account of the proceedings of this prosecution. It is to be remarked that it is there stated that the instruments employed by the wizard, Roger Bolingbroke, in the pursuit of his craft, were first consecrated by Thomas Southwick, a canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster : so completely had religion sunk into superstition.

been permitted to pass from the page of history unpitied and undefended. The remarkable fact is, that many were found who confessed, that they were witches or wizards, although the consequence of the confession was certain death.

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II. We now come to the consideration of that portion of our primate's life which connects the past with the present; and associates the name of Chicheley with happy remembrances of bygone days, in the generation now passing from the world; and with high hopes and aspirations in the generation commencing life. The poor boy of Higham Ferrers had risen to the metropolitan throne of England, through the advantages of an education extended to him by William of Wykeham; and, like a true-hearted man, he desired to do honour to his benefactor, by imitating his conduct, and by extending to generations yet unborn the blessings which a preceding generation had conferred upon himself.

The declining state of the universities became known to Chicheley, partly from his residence at Oxford, when he was a fellow of New College, and partly from the representations made to him soon after his appointment to the primacy.

The universities were in a transition state. The time had passed, to which we have had occasion frequently to recur, when the labours of the student were interrupted by the factions created by the disputes between the north-countrymen and the southerners. The university had become more aristocratic, at a period when men of high birth were, through the revival of learning, beginning to think distinction in the fields of literature as honourable as victory in the field of battle. But they had introduced habits of

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luxury and dissipation, which made the contrast between them and the poorer students more painful. The humbler classes had formerly flocked to the university as one of the means of rising in the world; but complaint was now made that the higher preferments were heaped upon the aristocrats, while the prizes formerly held out for exertion were withdrawn. Young men, without interest, found that their chance of success in war was greater than any chances they had of obtaining advancement in the Church, and therefore they did not prepare themselves for holy orders.

Chicheley, regarding the subject as one which pertained to the whole Church, suggested that the two universities should send delegates to state the circumstances of the case to the convocation of 1417. The University of Cambridge was represented by Dr. Thomas Kyngston, an advocate in the Court of Arches, while Dr. Robert Gilbert, of Merton, appeared for Oxford.

On this occasion, and again in 1421 and in 1438, complaint was made of the damage done to the universities by the dispensers of preferments; who no longer offered the prizes for study or those rewards of merit which formerly attracted such multitudes to the seats of learning.

The archbishop, in 1417, published a constitution, with the sanction of the convocation, requiring the patrons of livings to confer their preferments on none but members of one or other of the two universities; while no one was to be admitted to the office of vicar-general, commissary, or other dignity in the Church, unless he were a graduate. An opposition having been raised to the constitution by the ambition of the unlearned friars, Chicheley proved himself to be in

earnest, by obtaining, through King Henry V., an act of parliament by which his constitution was confirmed.* He addressed the whole force of his mind to this subject.

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The first thing done by Chicheley was to establish a fund at Oxford, known for a long time as Chicheley's Hutch. From this fund the university was permitted to borrow five pounds for any one term, and each college five marks. For his own house, New College, he established a separate hutch. At a time when rents were generally paid in kind, the facility thus afforded of raising ready money to meet the wants of students, was a wise as well as a benevolent provision. In order that he might ascertain the exact condition of the University of Oxford the archbishop determined to hold a visitation, which he appointed the celebrated Lyndwood to conduct. This corresponded with our modern mode of proceeding when we institute a commission of inquiry. The result of the investigation was seen in Chicheley's determination to follow the example of William of Wykeham, and to found a new college. With this object in view he purchased about ten acres of land in the north suburbs of Oxford, the site, at the present time, of St. John's College. But, for some reason or other, he decided on erecting his college at some other part of the town, and he entertained a proposal for selling the property, just purchased, to the Cistercians. The Cistercians had come into the collegiate system. The members of their order who went to Oxford, complained that when dispersed in different inns and halls they could not observe their rules with proper regularity and steadiness; and it was determined therefore to

* Wood, i. 566. Reg. Chich. ii. 27. Wilkins, iii. 401.

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erect a college. On reflecting upon the proposal now made to him that he should sell to the Cistercians the land which he had lately purchased in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen without Northgate, the venerable archbishop hesitated to receive money for land which had been dedicated in his mind to a sacred object; and he presented the land, as a free gift, to the Cistercians. He did more; he erected a college for them on the site; which was called St. Bernard. But, willing as Chicheley was thus to contribute towards the education of the Cistercians, he was himself a secular, and he desired, like William of Wykeham, to place the education of the people in the hands of the secular clergy. He did not therefore endow St. Bernard's; nor indeed was there need of endowment, as the expenses of the students were all discharged by contributions from the great abbeys of that wealthy order.*

In order that he might carry out his original design, and establish a secular college, Chicheley now purchased the land upon which still stands his great work, the College of All Souls. The purchase was completed on the 14th of December, 1437, and on the 10th of the following February the first stone of the building was laid with great ceremony by the archbishop himself. The chief surveyor of the works was John Daniel, who, in 1440, became one of the earliest fellows of the new foundation; and in 1443 was collated to the archdeaconry of Exeter. In the fifth year the supervision of the building devolved upon Roger Keyes, who, becoming a fellow in 1438, succeeded the first warden, Dr. Andrews, in 1442. The liberality of the

* MS. Life of Chicheley by Hoveden. Stevens's Monasticon, ii. 53. Wood's Colleges, 255. St. Bernard's College shared the fate of other monastic institutions at the Reformation.

archbishop was such as to enable them to expend in six years about five thousand pounds in the building; and within the same period he spent on books for the library, plate for the hall, and furniture for the chapel not less than £4,032 13s. 8d.* At the same time the archbishop was actively employed in providing a sufficient endowment for his new institution. We have had occasion to mention before the confiscation of monastic property, which had taken place under the sanction, if not by the advice, of Archbishop Chicheley. It was not to be tolerated that, when Normandy had become part of France, and when with France England was at war, the foreign abbeys should be enriched by deriving rents from England, a portion of which could be expended in maintaining the armies of the enemy. There was no peculiar sanctity attached to monastic property in the eyes of a secular priest; and when the Crown had seized the property of the alien priories, Chicheley had not hesitated to purchase a large portion of it. He paid, for monastic lands to endow his secular college, upwards of a thousand pounds, equal to at least ten thousand of our money.

By this confiscation of monastic property a precedent was set, which was afterwards followed by Wolsey and Henry VIII., when St. Bernard's College, to the establishment of which Chicheley had contributed, being suppressed, because it was a monastic institution, was given to Christ Church. From that house the site was purchased by Sir Thomas White for his college of St. John Baptist. The other purchases made by the archbishop may be found in Wood and Tanner; we are only concerned with the result, which was the esta-

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* These sums must be multiplied by ten, at least, if we would reduce the money to its present value.

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blishment of a society more opulent than any which at that time existed in either university, a college which, among other celebrities, can boast of such names among its members as Tanner, Linacre, Leland, Sydenham, Sir Christopher Wren, Judge Blackstone, Jeremy Taylor, Gilbert Sheldon, and Reginald Heber; nor would I omit from the list Edward Young, whose poetry is now considered as stilted, but whose power of expression will assign to him no mean rank among the poets of England, in the estimation of those who, in their melancholy moments, may be inclined to read him.

The unsettled state of affairs, and the opinion entertained by Chicheley of the insecurity of Church property, are shown by the precautions he thought it necessary to adopt, in order that he might secure for his college the enjoyment of his endowments after his decease. He persuaded Henry VI., in the charter of incorporation, which is dated 1438, to allow himself to be named as co-founder, so as to give his college the privileges of a royal foundation. Although, for this foundation, he considered the royal authority as sufficient, yet he took further precaution, and had the royal charter confirmed by the pope. No one could tell how far, in this age, the papal pretensions might be pushed. The latter precaution, however, nearly endangered the establishment. To apply for a papal bull was still contrary to law: for the application Chicheley was liable to the penalties of *præmunire*; and Edward IV., regarding the whole property as confiscated, appropriated it to his own use. Under Henry VII., however, the property was restored to the college, and the charters were finally confirmed by act of parliament, and remained undisturbed till the late act of Queen Victoria.

We shall now leave Oxford, to cast our eye upon other scenes of the liberality of Chicheley. It always speaks well for a man's heart, when that heart, in after life, returns with affection to its first home. When the first home has been a humble one, this affectionate recurrence to it, on the part of one who has risen by his merits to a high position in society, is the more amiable. It speaks in favour of the early training by wise parents ; and to this men are more indebted than they are prepared to acknowledge, until they have, in old age, gained the true experience of life. Soon after his appointment to the primacy, Chicheley visited Higham Ferrers. It is interesting to think of the shepherd boy now returning, the chief pastor of all England, to his native place. As human nature is always the same, we can judge of his sensations by our own, when, as Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, attended by his two brothers, wealthy merchants and magistrates of London, Henry Chicheley approached, with a pomp, such as we should now think regal, his native town. The cavalcade of an archbishop, from the mixture of the knights and soldiers of his household with the chaplains and ecclesiastics of his establishment, was singularly picturesque. The ecclesiastical procession formed to meet the primate,—though formed of ecclesiastics,—was at the same time imposing. The living was appropriated to the collegiate church of St. Mary's, Leicester, and a deputation from that church had brought to Higham Ferrers the richest of their processional copes and their decorated banners.* The procession was headed by John

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\* In the twenty-eighth year of Edward III., Henry, duke of Lancaster, appropriated the advowson of Higham Ferrers, with the chapels of Chelveston and Caldecote, to the collegiate church of St. Mary's, at Leicester.—Cole's Higham Ferrers, 30.

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Bradberne, the vicar. As they approached, the archbishop was seen prepared to receive them *in pontificalibus*. His mitre was on his head; his cross-bearer—the bishop of Rochester—was by his side; in his own hand he carried his pastoral staff. The procession from Higham Ferrers, on approaching the Lord Primate, knelt. The archbishop was not required to speak. He waved his benediction over the prostrate multitude; and then, the procession being re-formed, and the knights of the household falling to the rear, they all proceeded to the crowded church, where the *Te Deum* was sung. The people rejoiced with him who was rejoicing gratefully.

Higham Ferrers is now only a picturesque village, interesting to the antiquarian. It was not, even when the primate first visited it after his promotion, that important place that it became afterwards through his munificence. Nevertheless it was a busy, thriving town, and a place of some consequence. Here John of Gaunt had held his court when Chicheley was a boy; and now, when the duchy of Lancaster had become united with the Crown, royalty itself was represented in the Constable of the Castle.

The castellan joined the procession, attended by the magnates of the surrounding neighbourhood, and escorted by his archers in their buff coats and polished cuirasses, to do honour to a primate, who had been the friend and adviser of the most popular king that ever sat on the English throne, in whom Higham Ferrers took a peculiar interest. The primate, ready to speak of Church matters to the clergy, was heard with attention by the knights and squires of the castle, as he detailed to them his experiences of the French war. His brothers found kindred spirits in the several guilds

which also joined in the procession,—those guilds which, on a *legal* basis, formed the trades' unions of the age, and, on an *ecclesiastical* basis, the insurance societies.

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The town then presented to the eye all that now commends mediævalism to the imagination of the artist. There were the fantastic gables, the pinnacles, the spires, the figures of saints meeting the eye at every turn, the elaborate carvings, the quaint signs; and within the mansions there was much more of luxury and even of comfort, than is generally supposed. The inhabitant of Higham Ferrers still loves to picture to his mind the archbishop discarding his robe of office, and, in the simple attire of a secular priest, slowly traversing the ground over which he had joyously raced in his boyhood. The love of the beautiful in art, especially as developed in architecture, was characteristic of the age in which Chicheley lived. The scientific observation of natural objects; an admiration of the lovely scenery of nature; and archæological research, are among the intellectual and moral results of that modern civilization which was, at this period, just commencing. The sentiment, nevertheless, though undeveloped, must have existed in generous hearts; and the modern inhabitant of the district who knows the place to have been subjected to fewer changes than usual, imagines Chicheley to have felt as he himself feels, when he approaches Higham Ferrers through the meadows of Wellingborough. There were, in the fifteenth century, the same elevated terraces by the side of brooks; similar foot-bridges; similar barred styles, formed of rude planks, beside the winding river and its horse-drawn barges; the same sheep-tracks, the corn mills, the hedges, the well-defined walk by the banks of the

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Nene; and although there was no antiquarian spirit in existence, yet a classical taste was beginning to revive. We gather from his speeches, that Chicheley had some acquaintance with Latin literature, and we may opine, therefore, that he sympathised with his contemporaries in the interest he took in the relics of the Romans that are still to be discerned.

There was no idle sentimentality, however, in Henry Chicheley. He loved his native place, and made that love apparent by his deeds. He not only contributed largely to the repairs of the church,\* but in 1422 he obtained a patent from Henry V. to found a college, which led to the rebuilding of the parish church.† The college was established for eight secular canons or chaplains, of whom one was to be the master; four clerks, of whom one was to be grammar master: there were to be a music master, and six choristers. For their accommodation he erected the stalls, which still remain; and on one of the *misereres* his head has been carved; and a shield also exists, bearing his arms—the see of Canterbury quartered with the arms of Chicheley.‡ At this time he and his

\* On each side of the choir is at present existing a series of old stalls; on one of which is depicted Archbishop Chicheley, exhibiting a round face of small features, with high cheek-bones, but pleasantly expressed.—Cole's Higham Ferrers, 43.

† The charter of Henry is in the Monasticon. The present parish church is said to be the old collegiate church, and from its architecture, seems to have been built by Chicheley.

‡ A controversy has arisen as to the fact, whether Chicheley had supporters to his shield. The College of Arms did not arise till later in Chicheley's century. The corporation was founded by Richard III., in the first year of his reign, by a charter dated the 2d of March, 1483. If Chicheley used supporters, he probably, therefore, assumed them without a grant. But I find no evidence to show that he did use them. I have looked at Chicheley's Register,

brethren probably gave directions for the brass, still preserved, and erected to the memory of their parents, Thomas Chicheley and Ann, his wife. Assisted by his brother, this foundation he richly endowed; and here, as in the case of Oxford, the endowment consisted, in part, of a manor in Essex, which, having formed a portion of the confiscated property of an alien priory, he purchased of the king. The college stood at the north-west of the town, and was a quadrangular building, about fifteen yards square within, having two wings projecting westward, and a handsome gateway on the east side. The chapel stood on the south side. The whole is now in ruins, amidst which, however, there are some interesting remains.

Another good work of Chicheley, also in ruins, was the establishment at Higham Ferrers of a Bede-house, for the residence of twelve poor men in reduced circumstances, with one woman to wait upon them. To each brother a penny per day was paid. The penny

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and find nothing about supporters there; neither are they found in his Missal. I have looked at his tomb at Canterbury. Two angels support his head on his effigy, and two priests flank his feet; but no swans appear. I doubt whether they are to be found in any contemporary buildings, though on this point I cannot speak with certainty. That they appear at a later period is certain. I rather think that they were used as badges. Badges were sometimes adopted to distinguish the followers of some well-known personage. There is sufficient reason to be assigned why Chicheley should, at one period of his life, adopt the swans for a badge. For the swan was the badge of the Bohun family, and came into the Lancaster family by one of the co-heiresses. It was white, and had a golden collar and chain. It is probable that when he was attached to the court of Henry V. Chicheley assumed the household badge of Lancaster; that he dropped it at the king's death, and that the swans were afterwards mistaken for supporters. This, of course, is mere conjecture.

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is still paid, but no house remains in which the pensioners may reside. The statutes still exist, drawn up evidently by Chicheley himself, who describes himself as "by the great providence of God Archbishop of Canterbury." The pensioners were to be not under fifty years of age; and they had assigned to them as their duty, to pray for the king, for the founder, and for any benefactors who might afterwards increase the endowment. They were to be under the jurisdiction of one of the brethren, who was to be called their prior. The founder was considerate of their advancing years; for, in that early-rising age, he did not require them to leave their beds before eight in winter, and seven o'clock in summer. At seven in summer and at eight in winter, they were to go to church; and at nine, they were to partake of "such meat as God hath sent them." Every one, on being admitted into the house, was to bring with him his bed and bedding; to wit, a mattress, a bolster, a pillow, two pairs of sheets, a blanket, a coverlet, and also a brass pot of two gallons, and a brass pan or pewter dish and a saucer. He was to give the brethren a dinner, or fourpence each for the purchase of a dinner. Expulsion was ordained for immoral conduct; and, after the third warning, for disorderly behaviour. There was to be a box to receive alms from visitors, and some of the brethren were appointed, at certain seasons, to solicit donations for the establishment. At two o'clock, they were to go to church; there to remain till four. After that, they went to dinner. At six o'clock, the bell rang for prayer, when each brother knelt at his chamber-door and prayed for the king and the founder.

The establishment was evidently intended chiefly for persons who had seen better days and had been



reduced to poverty ; and not for mere paupers. Men of moderate means were admitted, but only on condition that they bequeathed their property to the Bede-house. These were probably yeomen who, in their old age, could not manage their estates, and who desired the attendance, society, and comfort here afforded. The respectability aimed at is shown by the regulation, that no one was to be admitted “but such as were clean men of their bodies, without blotches, boils, or blains ;” for the admittance of such persons would be an annoyance to some among the inmates. Any man taken ill was to be sent to his friends ; and, when healed of his disease, was to be re-admitted into the Bede-house. On the Friday in each week a barber came, who was to shave the brethren, dress their heads, and make them clean ; three of the brethren each week submitted to the process. The woman-servant, who was to be no brawler, or chider, but a person willing to please every poor man to her power, was to receive from each brother a certain portion of meat, which he was to purchase on the Saturday. He was to order what portion of it he pleased to be cooked for his Sunday dinner, and the rest she was to lay by for the Wednesday collation. On the Sunday she was to set on the pot, to make them good pottage, and she was to give each man his own piece of meat, together with a mess of pottage in his dish. The rest of the pottage was to be reserved for the dinner of Monday. On Wednesday she was to regulate matters in the same manner ; and on Friday she was to go into the town to get some good barm to make them some bread. On Monday she was to wash their clothes, and on that day, and on that day only, she might engage a charwoman. Every morning she was to make a fire before the men rose, and to

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have a pan of fair water ready, and a dish by it to wash their hands.\*

It is not necessary to mention the ordinary rules for the discipline of the house, in which there is nothing peculiar; but these selections from the statutes are presented to the reader because they show how minutely Chicheley, notwithstanding his various engagements, went into detail. Such documents also make us acquainted with some of those domestic arrangements of which it is difficult otherwise to procure a description. There was evidently more attention paid to cleanliness than is generally supposed to have been the case.

Wherever Chicheley went he left the impress of his character. He spent a large sum of money in the adornment of his cathedral; and for the erection of a library, which he furnished with a collection of books of varied learning. From his steward's account, kept during many years, we ascertain that he spent a large sum annually in repairing and improving his residence at Lambeth.† The numerous apartments he erected are mentioned by Ducarel; and among the additions he made to the manor-house we find, "a fountain or aqueduct in the kitchen," and a rabbit-garden.

Chicheley also erected the large tower still existing at the west end of the chapel; and, to make room for it, an old stone building in the same place was taken down and cleared. This is now called the Lollards' Tower, but incorrectly.‡ It was not erected for the special purpose of being a prison for lollards, nor were

\* Orders and Statutes of the Parish Hospital at Higham Ferrers.

† Ducarel's Lambeth, 13.

‡ I mention this on the authority of Maitland, to whose accuracy and candour Hallam bears testimony. He says that the name of

the lollards, if committed to it, the only inmates. The lollards were generally confined, not in the archbishop's prison, but in that of the Bishop of London. I have observed before, that, when we speak of a Lollards' Tower we are generally under a wrong impression on the subject. One of the complaints brought against the prisons attached to the spiritual courts was, that the prisoners received a treatment too lenient ; and when lollards were committed to those prisons, it was as a kind of commutation of punishment. Men, by law—an iniquitous law we justly esteem it—were condemned to death as relapsed heretics ; but instead of being executed, they were, as we have seen, not unfrequently committed to the bishops' prisons, under a respite.

Although Chicheley was a patron of learning and of learned men, yet he does not himself appear as an author, unless we regard him as the writer of the various public documents, manifestoes, and constitutions published in his name. Tanner, who speaks of him at some length, assuming this to be the fact, regards him as the author of the declaration against the barbers who pursued their craft on the Lord's day, and of the constitution against the married clergy ; as well as of the letters to the pope to which we have referred. The last were very probably his own composition, but for the other documents he may have been only accountable for the subject-matter of which they were composed, the documents themselves being composed by his secretaries. He certainly drew up the statutes for the college at Higham Ferrers, and those

Lollards' Tower was applied to Chicheley's tower at Lambeth, only in recent times, and most improperly.—*Essays on the Reformation*, 24.

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which are still binding upon All Souls' College at Oxford.

Chicheley, like many long-lived persons, began to feel early (comparatively speaking) the infirmities of old age, and had long been an invalid. Nothing, however, interfered with the demands of business upon his mind and time. With the surveyor of his works at Oxford he had frequent interviews; and during the last ten years of his life, he made frequent journeys to the University, personally to inspect both the material and the moral works—the labours of the artisans and the conduct of his warden and fellows. A journey, at that time, from Canterbury or from Lambeth to Oxford was not to be performed with that ease with which it is now accomplished. The fatigue, when the journey was made by an octogenarian on horseback, must have been great. Yet, while meditating a resignation of his primacy, Chicheley mounted his horse, and visited Oxford for the last time. He was attended by the bishops of Worcester and Norwich, and was joined by the Bishop of Lincoln.

Hitherto, ever since their incorporation, the warden and fellows of All Souls had been lodged and maintained, at the archbishop's expense, in a hired house. The college buildings were now so far advanced, that the founder was enabled, before he died, to make these over for the permanent abode of his beneficiaries.

The brave old primate, attended by his suffragans, appeared once more in all the splendour by which a metropolitan was, in that age, surrounded. All Oxford went forth to receive, for the last time, with admiration and enthusiasm, one of the most illustrious and munificent of her sons. The patron of learning was gratified by the loud plaudits of some of the most learned

men of the country. He was lodged in All Souls. The next day, oppressed by the gorgeous pontificals, which sat heavily on one bowed down by the weight of fourscore years, Henry Chicheley concluded the work of his life, by consecrating the chapel of his college to the memory of the learned saints, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory.

Chicheley had been, for a long time, anxious to be released, if not from the labours, yet from the responsibilities, of his high office. But there were difficulties in the way of a resignation ; difficulties which would in part be occasioned by the further difficulty of deciding upon his successor. If he were to leave it to the king, he was aware that, the Government being weak, and the pope determined to carry things with a high hand, his life would terminate before the rival interests would be reconciled. The chapter would claim to elect, the king to nominate, the pope to provide. But there was one point on which, though contrary to the letter of the law, the authorities in church and state seem, at this time, to have coincided,—no translation could take place without a dispensation from the pope. A bishop was wedded to his diocese : the Roman curia was the only divorce-court. The way to expedite matters was, therefore, to propose a translation. But then came the question as to the person to be selected. He must be one whom the king would nominate, or he could not obtain possession of the temporalities of the see ; he ought to be a person whom the chapter would postulate ; and he must be a prelate acceptable to the pope, or no dispensation would be granted, and no translation could be effected.

There was one man who, though a friend of Beaufort, had still retained the affection of Chicheley ; a

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man whose position, as Lord High Chancellor, was sufficient to show, that his translation would be acceptable to the Government—John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells. He had been the mediator between Chicheley and Beaufort, and had induced the former to tolerate the presence of a resident cardinal, and the latter not to seek the office of legate *à latere*. If he were the man selected by Chicheley, he was also the man whom Beaufort would recommend to the pope. He was, indeed, a friend, like Beaufort, to the papal interests; he was not an advocate for the independence of the national church, such as was asserted in the councils of Pisa and Constance, which Chicheley had supported; but he was a moderate man; and Chicheley himself had evidently succumbed, in his old age, to the new papal principles asserted by Martin V., and maintained by his successors.

When we thus review the facts of the case, we see at once, the reason for Chicheley's doing what at first sight, appears a thing extraordinary: why he should seek to appoint his successor; and, in choosing that successor, why he should select a partisan of his rival, though at one time, and perhaps still, a personal friend of his own.

When his plans were matured, Chicheley addressed Pope Eugenius for permission to divorce himself from his see. The letter is dated from his manor at Lambeth, on the 10th of April, 1442. It is an affecting document.\*

Having arrived, he says, by God's mercy, at a time of life, when, dismissing all worldly cares from his mind,

\* MS. Lambeth, No. 211. Ex Epistolarum Thomæ Beckington, fol. 53.



he could concentrate his thoughts upon himself, he was aware of his own imperfections. "Heavy laden, and extremely old, infirm, and beyond measure weak, I am unequal," he says, "to the cares I have long borne, and continue to bear, and I am incompetent to discharge the duties of my office. For the spiritual welfare, therefore, of that flock which is equally an object of your attention and of mine, as well as for the repose and salvation of my own soul, I ask, holy Father, for relief from a burden I am unable any longer to sustain with comfort to myself or with advantage to others. I pray to be permitted to surrender my charge into your hands, that I may devote myself to repentance and prayer. O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength before I go hence and be no more seen." There is more to the same effect, and he concludes by asking for John, bishop of Bath and chancellor of England, for his successor.

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The letter of the archbishop was accompanied by another written with the same object by the king. The king expressed a hope that out of the rents of the see of Canterbury a suitable provision would be made for the retiring primate; in order that he might not be reduced to poverty on his resignation, who, superior to low schemes of personal aggrandizement, had sought, in that lucrative station, the advantage not of himself, but of others.

The see of Canterbury was vacant before the bull to sanction the resignation of Chicheley had arrived.

On the 2d of April, 1443, he was closeted with William Lyndwood, and affixed his seal to the statutes of All Souls. On the 12th of April, 1443, the great bell of Canterbury Cathedral notified to the Church of England that her munificent primate had departed this life.

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With Chicheley terminated that long line of independent primates, who had come down in regular succession from Augustine; and who had governed the Church of England, not as delegates from any foreign power, but by their own authority. Many aggressions had been made upon that authority; to many usurpations on the part of the Roman Pontiff, the primates had submitted, but they had remained till now, independent metropolitans.\* From this period until the resumption of our independence under Archbishop Parker, the Church of England was virtually governed by the pope. He was represented by *legati à latere* who were sometimes, but not of necessity, the primates of the Church of England. The usurpation was carried to its extremest point, when to Cardinal Wolsey Archbishop Warham was compelled to yield; the primate having an intuitive perception, that wrong was done to his office, but not clearly understanding how the wrong originated, or in what manner it was to be resisted.

The remains of Archbishop Chicheley were deposited in a vault on the north side of the presbytery in Canterbury Cathedral. There, upon a monument erected in his lifetime, reposes his effigy, in the carved magnificence of his pontifical vestments. Beneath is represented a skeleton in a shroud. The monument, designed by the grateful superstition of a former age,

\* From the time of Archbishop Hubert, the archbishops of Canterbury had been "*Legati nati*"—ex officio legates,—to exercise in the pope's name those powers conceded to, or claimed by, the bishops of Rome. This no more interfered with the independence of the archbishop than did the fact of his holding the Great Seal; he could act for the king and for the pope in these several jurisdictions, without derogating from his own inherited jurisdiction. But the *legati à latere* superseded the primate, or if that office were held by the primate, into it merged the rights of the primacy.

was damaged and defaced by the unenlightened piety of the Puritans ; and, having been subjected also to the decay incident from the lapse of time, it has been restored with good taste, and is still kept in repair, by the religious sentiment of the warden and fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford.

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CHAPTER XIX.

JOHN STAFFORD.

Of a noble Family.—Born at Hook near Beaminster.—Educated at Oxford.—Party Spirit at Oxford.—Philip Repingdon.—Stafford a Lawyer.—The Lawyer's ecclesiastical Preferments.—Dean of St. Martin's.—Dean of Wells.—Patronised by Chicheley.—Dean of the Court of Arches.—His Diligence as a Privy Councillor.—Keeper of the Privy Seal.—Attached to Beaufort's Party.—Bishop of Bath and Wells.—Managed Beaufort's Cause when the latter became a Cardinal.—Attended the King to France.—Made Chancellor, the first called Lord Chancellor.—Cardinal Beaufort misrepresented.—Specimens of Stafford's Eloquence.—Stafford selected by Chicheley to be his Successor in the Primacy.—Translated to Canterbury with general Approbation.—Journal of the French Embassy.—Character of King Henry and Queen Margaret.—Peace Policy.—Papal Aggression.—Stafford not so Gallican as his Party.—He was personally popular.—Social Progress during the Eighteen Years of Stafford's Ministry.—Cry for a Reformation.—He resigns the Chancellorship.—Under the Insurrection of Jack Cade, the Archbishop appears to advantage.—Prohibits Fairs and Markets in Churches.—Regulates certain Festivals.—Disputes between the ecclesiastical and lay Lawyers.—Martin V. establishes Popery in the modern acceptation of the word.—Effect of the new System.—Difficulties in which the Clergy were involved.—The Alibi.—Bishop Pecock, an extreme Papist, mistaken for a Protestant.—Pecock's Popery excites a Tumult.—Stafford permits him at this time to escape condign Punishment.—The Golden Rose sent to Henry.—Foundation of Eton and King's.—Stafford received the King at Canterbury.—Commencement of the Civil War.—Before a Battle was fought, Stafford died.

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JOHN STAFFORD was descended from a collateral branch of the family of Stafford, one of the most

Authorities.—Contin. Hist. de Episcopis Bathon et Wellen. Wilkins' Concilia. Fabyan's Chronicle, which contains the best

illustrious families of the middle age.* His father, Sir Humphrey, was Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, and was called Sir Humphrey "of the silver hand."† His mother was Elizabeth Dynham, relict of Sir John Maltravers, of Hook, near Beaminster, a manor which came into the family through his mother. At Hook Park, there is still to be seen an old house belonging to Lord Sandwich, whose grandfather obtained it by a marriage with the co-heiress of the Paulets, to whom it had descended. In Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, the Stafford family was much extended. The Staffords had a chantry at Abbotsbury abbey, of which the foundation deeds remain. The families of Maltravers and Stafford of Hook are now represented in the person of the Earl of Ilchester, who has inherited a large portion of his property from them. The arms of both families are to be seen in the house at Melbury; and in the church are the arms of the archbishop himself, with a small mitre introduced in stained glass.‡

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account of Jack Cade's insurrection, and the part taken by Stafford against it. Hall. Grafton. Will. Wyrcest. Rot. Parl. V., from p. 152.

* Some confusion has arisen relative to the descent of this prelate. He is often spoken of as the son of Humphrey, earl of Stafford and duke of Buckingham, who was killed in the first battle of St. Albans, 1455. This is a mistake. By a slight attention to chronology, and by a reference to documents and bequests, we are enabled to trace the archbishop's parentage and family. The common ancestor of the two families, that of the duke and that of the archbishop, was Robert, baron Stafford, in the reign of Henry III.—Dugdale's Baronage, i. 172.

† Whether so called from his generous disposition, or for his having an artificial hand, says Mr. Foss, does not appear.

‡ I am indebted for this information respecting the archbishop's family to the kindness of the late Earl of Ilchester.

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John Stafford, the second son of Sir Humphrey,* was educated at Oxford, and took an active part in the university politics of the day. There was, at this time, a strong party in Oxford, prepared to contest the right of the diocesan, and even of the metropolitan, to exercise jurisdiction within the university. This party pleaded exemption from all episcopal control, on the ground of certain papal bulls, granted or conceded from time to time. This was not popular ground to take at this period, especially as there was a schism in the papacy. Taking courage from these circumstances, the Bishop of Lincoln, Philip Repingdon,† formerly a

* The archbishop's elder brother was Humphrey, who died when John was Bishop of Bath and Wells, when the elder brother bequeathed to the bishop two flagons of silver gilt. Gascoigne speaks of Stafford as illegitimate. But Gascoigne was a violent party-writer, opposed to Stafford. He could not, as illegitimate, have been consecrated without a dispensation from the pope; and until such dispensation be produced, we must regard this statement as a mere libel.

† Philip Repingdon is placed by Fuller among the Worthies of Derbyshire, and took his name from the place of his birth, Repingdon, contracted into Repton. He was educated at Oxford, where he commenced first bachelor, and then doctor of divinity. He was, as we have seen in the life of Arundel, at first a supporter of John Wiclif; but, alarmed at the extent to which the followers of Wiclif were tending, or open to persuasions less honourable, he became one of the most virulent opponents of the party to which he was, at one time, attached. It always tells against a man when he is rewarded for a change of party. He was, after holding an inferior office, appointed Abbot of Leicester. He was Chancellor of Oxford in the year 1400, and was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1408, being appointed by papal provision. There was some difficulty in obtaining the royal sanction to this violation of the law. According to Ciaconius (*Ciac. Vit. Pont. et Cardin.* ii. 166), he was created a cardinal by Gregory XII. on the 19th of September, 1408. In making this appointment the pope violated the oath he had taken

leader, as we have seen, among the Wickliffites, but now, their most determined and uncompromising opponent, determined to assert his rights. He caused letters to be addressed to the University, in which, on the ground that many of its members were suspected of holding heretical opinions, he notified his intention of holding a visitation, either by himself or his commissary, in St. Mary's church; there to make an inquisition concerning heresy. For this proceeding the Bishop of Lincoln could plead the precedent established by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in defiance of the bulls of Urban and Boniface, had exercised his right of visitation, and maintained his jurisdiction over the University. The bishop's letter was received with due respect. A meeting was summoned by the chancellor, and it was attended by the proctors, doctors, bachelors of divinity, regent, and non-regent masters, bachelors of law, scholars in divinity, "and those that were of a noble race." In answer to the citation of the bishop, his lordship was informed that the University was prepared to obey. The letter conveying their submission was subscribed by at least eighty persons,* and among the doctors of civil law, the first name that appears is that of Mr. John Stafford.†

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Whether the visitation did actually take place is doubtful. There was probably a compromise. Besides the papal bulls of exemption, the anti-episcopal party

not to create cardinals; and this led to his deposition on the 15th of July, 1415. Repyngdon, having transgressed the law, and incurred the penalties of a *præmunire*, by accepting the cardinalate, resigned the see of Lincoln on the 10th of October, 1419. He died in obscurity. His will was proved in August, 1434. Fuller; Hardy's *Le Neve*; Stubbs; Reg. Arundel, vol. xxix.

\* Reg. Repyngdon, fol. 136.

† Wood, *Annals*, i. 556.

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could plead a charter of Richard II., which appointed the chancellor, proctors, and the university authorities in general, to be “perpetual inquisitors *de hæretica pravitate* within the said University.” They were, however, slow to press this statute, or to cause a disturbance; for the throne was now occupied by Henry IV., who had seen the good policy of courting the University, and who had lately become a benefactor by a donation of several goods and ornaments,—“jocalia.”\* As to the bulls, the schism at Rome had nullified the papal authority; and the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge had concurred with the synod held in London, mentioned in the life of Chicheley, in which ambassadors were appointed to signify to the two pretenders to the papal throne, that unless one of them desisted from urging his claim, they should be both of them rejected.

The University was, at this time, troubled by a set of lawless Irishmen, who, under the title of “Chamberdekens,” and in the habit of poor scholars, lived in taverns, and were accused of burglary, manslaughter, and of other crimes. To such an extent was their violence carried, that an act of parliament was obtained, which directed that all Irishmen who were not either graduates at the University, or,—if under a course of education,—who were not attached to some religious order, should “void the realm.”†

On quitting the University, Dr. Stafford practised in the ecclesiastical courts. But although it was through the law that his ambition sought to rise, it was

\* For these donations, it was ordained in a congregation held in 1412, that an annual Mass should be celebrated for Henry IV. on the vigil of St. Edward the King.—Wood, i. 555.

† Wood, i. 557.

not on the precarious remuneration of legal practice or on the uncertain honorarium, that he depended for his livelihood. He entered into holy orders, and employed his family interest to obtain preferment in the Church. On the 9th of September, 1419, he became Archdeacon of Salisbury, of which diocese he was chancellor in 1421. To speak at once of his early ecclesiastical preferments, we may mention that, in 1422, he became Dean of St. Martin's, London, a very important office; and, on the 9th of September, 1423, he was installed Dean of Wells.\* As a lawyer, Stafford soon attracted the attention of Archbishop Chicheley. The primate appointed him his vicar-general, and advanced him to the judicial bench by nominating him, on the resignation of Kemp, to be Dean of the Court of Arches. Through Chicheley the merits of Stafford became known to Henry V., and the successful lawyer was now converted into a politician. In May, 1421, he became Keeper of the Privy Seal, with a salary of twenty shillings a day, and he discharged the delicate duties of the office with such integrity that, upon the accession of Henry VI. he not only retained the Privy Seal, but was appointed also Lord High Treasurer of England.†

We have only to refer to the acts of the Privy Council to see how diligently, now and at every period

\* Hardy's *Le Neve*, i. 15

† *Fœdera*, x. 117; *Rot. Parl.* iv. 213; *Acts Priv. Coun.* iii. 8. One of Stafford's first duties as Lord High Treasurer was to deliver to the executors of Henry V. the private property left by that monarch. The list of his jewels, goods, and chattels, occupies twenty-six pages in the *Rotuli Parliamentarum*. It throws much light on the state of art in that age, and the magnificence of the court. It might be printed with advantage in the *Archæological Journal*.

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of his official life, Archbishop Stafford attended to the details of duty. We find also, incidentally, from the same source, that he was engaged in certain mercantile speculations. There is an entry on the 15th of January, 1423, that "a certain Balenger of Brittany, lately assigned to John Stafford, Keeper of the Privy Seal, in compensation for certain goods of his which had been seized by the Bretons, in time of truce, should be released from arrest by the admiral in the Thames; and that the said John should answer in the Admiralty Court to the Bretons suing for the same." Warrants were at the same time issued for the payment of the Treasurer and Keeper of the Privy Seal.\*

From the very commencement of the young king's reign, party spirit ran high, and Stafford attached himself to the party of Henry Beaufort. It speaks well for the good temper of Stafford, and the tolerant spirit of Chicheley, that although his politics were thus opposed to those of the archbishop, yet he never forfeited his esteem and friendship. It speaks well, also, for his moderation, that although he belonged to the unpopular party—the party opposed to progress, and in favour of papal pretensions—he retained to the last an influence with the people which enabled him to render real service to his country. He knew his position, and was a humble-minded man. He was, in truth, one of those very useful persons who never aspire to the first place in the political world; who, conscious of their inability to take the lead, devote themselves to the service of some superior mind; and who, while the master is developing his principles, is prepared to work out the details. Upon the *fidus*

\* Acts Privy Council, iii. 19.

*Achates* the very highest honours are often conferred ; because, if, in rank or in wealth he is first, a certain intellectual inferiority will be admitted, though it be an inferiority only to the one person accepted as a leader. The Lord Privy Seal has, even at the present time, precedence of the Prime Minister who appointed him to the office : but that high officer is well aware, that for his office he is dependent upon the Prime Minister, to whose will he submits, and the superiority of whose intellect he acknowledges.

Henry Beaufort was willing to advance Stafford to the highest offices in Church and State, because in the hands of Stafford those offices were sure to be subordinated to the will and purposes of the great cardinal of England. Stafford was willing to play this subordinate part, not from sordid motives,—from any suspicion of which he may be fairly exonerated,—but because, while adhering to the policy of the cardinal, he was aware that, though he might dictate to the multitude of intellects inferior to his own, he himself, nevertheless, required direction, or, at all events, the support of a stronger will. The general who may possess talents more than sufficient to direct the operations of a brigade, or to act with vigour and valour as the second in command, may not be the man capable of directing a campaign, or of deciding upon the exceptional movements in an army when engaged in action ;—those movements which depend upon the intuition of genius, as distinguished from the mere powers of educated talent.

Through the interest of Beaufort, Stafford was enabled to walk from the Deanery of Wells to the palace. He was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells at Black Friars, in London, on the 27th of May, 1425.

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Beaufort,—not yet a cardinal, but as Bishop of Winchester,—officiated on the occasion.\*

To the management of Bishop Stafford, Beaufort confided his affairs, when, by his acceptance of the cardinal's hat from Martin V., he was entangled in difficulties with the English government. We have seen in the life of Chicheley how popery, in the modern sense of the word, or Ultramontaniam, was introduced by Martin V. He started the new principle. Hitherto each national church was independent, and placed under its native governors, subject only to certain rights—partly admitted and partly disputed—of the Bishop of Rome, but, in any sense of the word, under subjection to the pope. Martin V. claimed to be the Universal Bishop, to be the “*Ordinarius ordinariarum*” of all the churches of Western Christendom. It was while the European world was in a state of transition from ancient catholicism to modern popery that, with a view of assisting in the change, Beaufort was appointed to the cardinalate. The Church of England was taken by surprise, but did not at once succumb. Under the former view of the state of things, if a man was appointed a cardinal of the Church of Rome, he ceased, by the common law of the Church, to be an officer of the Church of England. Cardinal Kilwardby and Cardinal Langham were compelled to retire from the see of Canterbury. It was not possible for the primate of the Church of England to be a servant also of the Church of Rome. But how was Cardinal Beaufort to maintain his dignity if deprived of the revenues of the see of Winchester? He refused, therefore, to admit that he had forfeited his bishopric by

\* Stubbs, 65. Reg. Stafford.



becoming a cardinal; and to maintain the identity of the two churches, which was now the policy of Rome, he was urged to assert his right to retain a bishopric which he had not resigned. How, it was asked by the Duke of Gloucester's party and by Archbishop Chicheley, can a Prince of the Roman Court, a sworn member of the pope's household and council, act as a servant, either in Church or State, of the King of England? Beaufort acted with consummate prudence and address. The abstract question he did not meet. He bided his time. He saw that the best thing for him to do was, while retaining the revenues of his see, to withdraw for a season from the country. He resigned the chancellorship. But, while the Archbishop of Canterbury regarded the proceedings and conduct of the pope as a personal insult, it became absolutely necessary that Beaufort should have a friend in the Privy Council. He used his interest, therefore, to have Stafford retained in his office of Privy Seal.

As Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Bishop of Bath and Wells accompanied Henry VI. to Paris, when, in 1430, it was determined that Henry should be crowned King of France. The royal party embarked at Dover, and, landing at Calais, there remained for some time. Thence the royal child proceeded to Rouen, from Rouen to Ponthoise, thence to St. Denis. He was surrounded by a splendid court, and had a guard of three thousand archers, some of them mounted.\* Rheims was in the hands of the enemy; the coronation, therefore, took place at Notre Dame; and Cardinal Beaufort, as uncle to the king, officiated on the occasion, to the no small disgust of the Bishop of Paris. The policy of Martin V.

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\* Hall's Chron. 161.

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in subjugating all national churches to the Church of Rome was as offensive to the chief ecclesiastics of the Gallican Church as it was to the Anglican prelates.

Stafford received a salary as privy councillor for his expenses during his attendance upon the king;\* and on his return to England the Bishop of Bath and Wells was appointed Lord High Chancellor,† an office which he held uninterruptedly for eighteen years; a tenure of the office at that time almost unprecedented, and which has seldom since been surpassed or equalled.‡ He received upon his appointment two seals, one of gold, the other of silver. The silver seal was the one commonly used in English affairs.§

During the period of Stafford's connexion with the Government,—although the foundation of discontent was laid in all classes of society, and the preparation was made for the moral earthquake which was soon to convulse the country,—the prevalent feeling with all parties was rather conservative than otherwise. Even Richard, duke of York, either felt or feared the danger of disturbing the peace of society for the sake of a problematical advantage. He suggested, but he shrunk from publicly asserting, his right to the throne. The conciliatory disposition of Stafford contributed, no

\* Privy Council, iv. 29.

† Stafford is the first chancellor who is known to have been called *Lord Chancellor*.—Foss, iv. 359. He is so called Rot. Parl. iv. 102.

‡ The exact period of Stafford's tenure of office was eighteen years, wanting thirty-two days. Bishop Burnel exceeded the eighteen years by about the same number of days.

§ *Fœdera*, x. 500. *Duo magna sigilla ipsius Domini Regis videlicet unum de auro et aliud de argento.* See "The history of the great Seals of England especially those of Edward III." by Professor Willis, in the second volume of the *Archæological Journal*.

doubt, towards this state of things; and the gradual retirement of his two patrons, Chicheley and Beaufort, from political intrigue, must have rendered his task the more easy. With respect to Chicheley this retreat from politics was more complete than that of Beaufort, whose royal birth compelled him to take part occasionally in public affairs. But there can be no doubt that Beaufort, though representing the unpopular party in the state, improved in character as he advanced in years. He amassed a large fortune by frugal, not to say by penurious, habits; and by a sagacity, not usual in his age or among his class, which led to a wise employment of his money, by laying it out, chiefly in loans, to great advantage. By loans to Government he procured a large interest for his money, as well as the best security; and by placing the Crown under an obligation to him, he anticipated its support whenever the time should arrive, when the object for which he hoarded might be placed within his reach.\* He aimed at the triple crown. But, as is the case with those who set their affections on any sublunary thing, year after year glided quickly away without the realization of his hopes; and, as they passed, the ambition itself began to give place to a desire of ease. He then found pleasure in employing his wealth in acts of munificence; which ought to have rescued his memory from some portion of that unpopularity attached to his name by tradition till the time of Shakespeare. He was the representative of the papal interest; always disliked in England, and especially now, when by Martin V. every national church was regarded as a mere colony of

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\* In 1424 he advanced to the Government 4,000*l.*, which he afterwards increased to 11,302*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* Acts of Privy Council, iii. 146.

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Rome; and this, too, at a time when the relations between Church and State were more intricate than they have been ever since. He completed the magnificent works which William of Wykeham had commenced in Winchester Cathedral; his benefactions to St. Cross were such as to entitle him to be called its second founder. But what speaks most in his favour is the charitable provision he made for the relief of poor prisoners, at a time when they were exposed sometimes to hardships which would fill a modern philanthropist with dismay.

On the merits of the incessant controversy, often degenerating into personal hostility between Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester, it is impossible, from the documents which we now possess, to form a just opinion. That there was much which was wrong on both sides, there can be no doubt; but equally beyond a doubt it must be in the minds of those who have examined the subject, that Beaufort was not concerned in Gloucester's death. The duke's murder, indeed, at that juncture, would have been not only a crime which Beaufort was not likely at this period of his history to commit, but it would have been a political mistake of which the cardinal was as little likely to be guilty. From the intimate relations of Stafford with the cardinal, this short digression upon the character of the latter is required.

Stafford, as chancellor, discharged his duties with uniform respectability. Parliamentary eloquence, at that period, was but rarely employed for the purposes of expediting public business. On great occasions a great speech might be necessary, but the business of parliament was for the most part conducted very much as business is now conducted at a vestry meeting,

or in a private committee. The friends of Government sought to get as much money out of the people as they could, and the representatives of the people sought to give as little as possible; while the two parties, except on certain occasions, conducted affairs in a conversational tone. Nevertheless the chancellor had to open every session with a formal speech, which assumed the only form of eloquence then in vogue,—that of a sermon—and of a sermon formed on the plan invented by the Schoolmen, and afterwards adopted as an inheritance by the Puritans. The object of these speeches seems to have been, not so much to convince gainsayers, as to astonish the people through the talents evinced by the speaker, by the enunciation of commonplaces in the language of a pedant, and by the illustration of them in the indulgence of a fancy truly puerile. I have given so many examples of this style of eloquence, that I shall not trouble the reader with the various speeches of Stafford, of which I have found abbreviated reports in the Parliamentary Rolls.

Stafford had held the Great Seal for eleven years when Chicheley determined to resign the primacy and to retire into private life.

The circumstances under which Chicheley selected Stafford for his successor, and postulated or induced his chapter to postulate the Bishop of Bath, have been already stated.

Beaufort's interest was great at Rome, and he could have prevented the appointment of a person hostile to the Roman interest. Stafford was the friend both of Chicheley and of Beaufort, and though not on the national side, he was a man of prudence and moderation, and retained his personal popularity, though attached to an unpopular party.

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Chicheley selected as his successor a man whose negative qualifications disarmed opposition, and it is due to Stafford that we present to the reader the high testimonial he received from his predecessor :

“I can,” wrote Chicheley to the pope, “with a safe conscience, recommend as my successor in this holy see, my very dear brother, John, bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor of England. He is a spiritual father, whose appointment will be, in every way, advantageous to the Church, if his varied excellence be taken into account. His merits must be well known to your holiness. If, indeed, in addition to his high intellectual and moral qualifications, the nobility of his birth, the influence of his relations, and his own almost boundless hospitality be taken into consideration, I am persuaded that it would be scarcely possible to select any one, who, in comparison with him, can be found fit for the important office.”\*

No resistance was offered to the translation of Stafford, when the see of Canterbury was vacant by the death of Chicheley. On the 13th of May, 1443, Stafford was appointed. But the news did not reach England until August 5th, when the bells of Canterbury rang out a merry peal to welcome John, bishop of Bath and Wells, as primate of all England and metropolitan.

The elevation of Stafford to the primacy made no change in his political relations. He continued to hold the great seal, and to take an active part in the politics of his party. He was zealous in promoting the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou.

This marriage was opposed by the Duke of

\* Ang. Sac. i. 572.



Gloucester's party, and this was the popular party in England. But the marriage is not fairly represented as resulting from a spirit merely factious on the part of Cardinal Beaufort and his supporters ;\* for it corresponded with their whole scheme of policy. There was at this time in England a war party and a peace party. The peace party was headed by Beaufort, Stafford, and Suffolk ; and in these days we shall be inclined to attribute to them sounder views of policy than can be claimed on behalf of their opponents. To Stafford and his party belongs the merit of foreseeing, that it was no longer possible to maintain the claim made by the English king, backed by the ambition of his people, upon the crown of France. There could be no doubt that the French people, though subdued for a time by English valour, would never submit to be ruled by an English king. While the English were able to retreat from a false position with honour, the Beaufort party counselled peace between the two nations. The inclination of this party to yield to the claims of the papacy, induced people to regard them as deficient in patriotism. But they had already so far succeeded, that negotiations for peace had been opened between the two nations ; and as the Lady Margaret was a near relative of the King of France, her marriage with the King of England was suggested as likely to form the foundation of a lasting peace, by uniting the minds of the contending princes.† So earnestly was Stafford's mind set

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\* The Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded Beaufort in the leadership of the party, was, in what related to the matrimonial negotiations, merely Beaufort's agent.

† Margaret was the daughter of René, duke of Anjou, titular King of Jerusalem, Sicily, Valence, &c., and Isabel his wife, third daughter of Charles, duke of Lorraine.

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upon this stroke of policy, that he generously advanced a thousand marks to enable the king to meet the expenses of the marriage and coronation.\*

The archbishop officiated at the royal marriage, which took place on the 22d of April, 1445, at Titchfield, in the county of Southampton;† and on the 30th of the following May at the coronation of the queen. The coronation was followed by jousts and tournaments, and by a suitable display of costly magnificence.

In July, a French embassy appeared in England, for the purpose of converting the truce then existing between England and France into a permanent peace. The journal kept by the French embassy has lately been discovered, and as it throws some light upon the history of Archbishop Stafford at this time, I shall refer to it. From it we perceive, in the first place, how completely the discharge of episcopal functions was made to yield to the claims upon the thought and time of the chancellor. The French were headed by Louis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, and by the Archbishop of Rheims, and they were attended by ambassadors from Henry IV. of Spain, from René of Anjou, king of Sicily, who had risen into importance by his daughter's marriage, and from Jean, duke of Alençon. On the 7th of July the embassy was at

\* *Fœdera*, v. 136. We see Beaufort's influence in the whole transaction. The wedding-ring was formed of the ring given to Henry by Cardinal Beaufort, and used by him when he was crowned at Paris. This was broken up, "thereof to make another ryng for the queene's wedding ryng."—*Fœdera*, v. 139.

† William of Worcester, 764. A strange present was made to the queen, that of a lion, the keep and travelling expenses of which amounted to 3*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* The nuptials had been previously celebrated by proxy at Tours, where the French king resided.

Canterbury. That 7th of July—a high day at the metropolitan cathedral,—was observed throughout England; it was the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. The French halted, on their journey, to do honour to the great English saint, and to see the glories of one of the richest shrines in Christendom.

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But the primate of all England was not there. He had a deputy. A bishop *in partibus* was his suffragan,\* accompanied by the lord prior, who also was “mitred and crossed.” The Archdeacon of Canterbury, the primate’s nephew, who was, under the new system, prothonotary of the pope, was also in attendance. The rich vestments of the monks attracted the notice of the foreigners. The Archbishop of Rheims was requested to officiate. He said mass in the morning; he then attended a splendid entertainment given by the prior in the hall of the convent; and in the evening he said vespers.

The archbishop was detained at Lambeth by his duties as chancellor. He is not to be blamed. His episcopal functions could be discharged by any other bishop to whom he might delegate his authority; but there could be no delegation of his duties as lord chancellor; for these were personal as well as official. But though no blame could be attached to him for not attempting the impossible, we may blame the system which imposed on one man two classes of incompatible duties. When laymen could not be found either willing or qualified to discharge the functions of statesmen and lawyers, we have defended a

\* This must have been the Bishop of Ross, who was suffragan of Canterbury from 1434 to 1465. He was Dean of Shoreham, and Rector of Saltwood.—Stubbs, 149.

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mode of action which secured the most valuable services for a united Church and State. But this was no longer the case. The lollards had done this good; they had denounced non-residence and pluralities; and though the evil was not eradicated till the nineteenth century, yet every generation saw a mitigation of it.

In London, the chancellor had much to do, as the representative of the English Government—the chief officer of the Crown. The embassy had no reason to complain of their reception. At Blackheath they were met by the great officers of the State, and among them one who is described by the French writer as “le Duc de Bourquingam” (Buckingham). At Blackheath the Lord Mayor of London, at the head of the commercial aristocracy, astonished the foreigners by the magnificence of the retinue and the liveries of the corporation.

On the 15th of July, the king having arrived at Westminster in his barge, the ambassadors were escorted to Westminster Hall. The hall was hung with blue tapestry, “diapered, of the hues of the late king, that is to say, Pods, and his motto ‘Jamais’ of gold. At the back of the throne the tapestry represented some ladies presenting to a lord the arms of France. The hall probably, and the throne, remained as they were decorated, when Henry V. held a banquet there, after the coronation of Queen Catherine.” At a time when the object was to conciliate, this would not have been introduced for the first time, but it was probably unthought-of or overlooked, when orders came to make the hall ready for the reception of the embassy.

When they entered the hall, they saw the king seated upon his throne, in a rich robe reaching to the ground

of red cloth of gold. The Archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, stood on one side of him, and the Cardinal Archbishop of York on the other. The great men of the court surrounded the throne. The Suffolk party, forming, as we should now say, the ministry, stood on his right; the Duke of Gloucester, or the Opposition, on the left. As the Duke of Vendôme and the Archbishop of Rheims approached him, the king rose, and descending the steps stood in front of the throne. He slightly raised his hat; and took by the hand all the members of the French senate, as they came one by one into the royal presence. The Archbishop of Rheims addressed to the king a complimentary speech in French, having been informed by the Earl of Suffolk that he might do so, and that the French language was understood by the king. The duke presented the letters from the king's uncle, the French monarch. These letters the king received with evident signs of pleasure, and Archbishop Stafford, as lord chancellor, addressed the embassy in Latin, stating how glad the king was to hear news of "the very noble prince, his uncle of France, and how he was." The king and the chancellor, with the rest of the council, then conferred together, standing aside, in order that the letters might be read. The chancellor, again speaking in Latin, informed the embassy, that the king was satisfied with their credentials, and would confer with them as soon as possible. The French embassy then knelt, while the Archbishop of Rheims thanked the king for his promise of a conference. He assured him that, next to the Dauphin, the King of England was nearest to the heart of the monarch he represented, and that above all things he desired to promote the cause of peace between his nephew and himself.

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Here important information is given us. While the Archbishop of Rheims was mentioning the affection entertained by the king his master for the King of England, and was descanting on his desire for peace between the two nations, Henry gave outward demonstration of being "well pleased and very joyful." He turned, as it were with a look of triumph, to the Duke of Gloucester, the leader of the war party, who stood at his left; and exchanged a smile with the Earl of Suffolk, who stood on his right. He pressed the chancellor's hand and whispered, "I am very much rejoiced that some, who are here present, should hear these words; they are not at their ease." Then the chancellor, addressing the assembly, thanked God for the terms expressed by the French, and for the inclination of their king towards peace. He stated that they should receive due notice as to the time and place of their next meeting. The cautious diplomacy of Stafford fell like a damper upon the enthusiastic feelings of the king, who went up to the chancellor and expressed his great disappointment, that in his speech he had not given utterance to words of more cordial friendship. Turning abruptly from his minister to the ambassadors, he raised his hat and said, repeating the words several times, "St. Jehan grant mercies, St. Jehan grant mercies." He shook hands with each member of the embassy, and desired the Earl of Suffolk to inform them that he did not regard them as strangers; and that they might go in and out of his house as freely as they did in that of their own king. The ambassadors from the other princes were then presented, and delivered in their credentials.

On another occasion, the Earl of Suffolk openly declared his devotion to the King of France, to whom



he avowed himself a servitor, with the single exception of the person of the King of England. I mention this to account, in part, for the extreme unpopularity which Suffolk incurred. To the anti-Gallican enthusiasm which pervaded England such words sounded like treason. Through his instrumentality the French ambassadors were admitted to several private interviews with the king, in which, it was said that the Duke of Gloucester was the only obstacle to peace. On one occasion, when Suffolk exclaimed, that next to his wife, the person the king loved best in the world was his uncle the King of France, Henry exclaimed, "St. Jehan, ouy!"

The requirements of the French were so exorbitant, that the business was never brought to a satisfactory conclusion. When it was proposed that an interview between the two kings should take place, the Earl of Suffolk agreed that the measure would be desirable, but that on such a weighty affair the king must be further advised.\*

It is to be remarked, as accounting for the different feeling on the part of the public towards Archbishop Stafford and towards Suffolk, that we do not find Stafford's name mixed up in any of the private conferences with the ambassadors, nor does he appear to have been present in their interviews with the king. The chancellor confined himself to the dry performance of his official duties; and through his want of party zeal, incurred the displeasure of the king, who took no pains to conceal his delight when he thought that the Duke of Gloucester was put in the wrong. It is

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\* Relation de l'Ambassade de Loys de Bourbon &c. pour traiter la paix, au mois de Juillet, MCCCCXLV.,—among the letters and papers of Henry VI., 87.

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evident that Stafford did not go all lengths with his party; that he probably endeavoured to keep the peace between Suffolk and Gloucester, as he had done before between Chicheley and Beaufort; and that he was already contemplating, what ere long he carried into effect, the resignation of the Great Seal.

We see also that Henry VI., like other weak men, already gave evidence of a disposition to introduce personal feeling into political discussion. When, instead of governing a whole nation, a sovereign descends from his throne and places himself at the head of a party, he virtually absolves a majority of his subjects from their allegiance; and prepares them for rebellion, by teaching them to confound with disloyalty of heart all independence of opinion.

As in this and some other lives I shall have frequently to recur to the private life of Henry and his queen, I may be permitted to state what, from a patient examination of history, I conceive their respective characters to have been.

Kind, gentle, amiable, pious, and a lover of peace, Henry was always weak, and easily swayed. The cares of state were an oppression to him; and, feeling his incapacity to govern, he accepted the counsellors thrown in his way, and supposing every one to be as true-hearted as himself, he gave them his entire confidence. To those in whom he confided he gave his affections; and regarded the support of their faction as the bounden duty of a patriot. I think that there can be no doubt whatever that, towards the close of his reign, he suffered from what we now call a softening of the brain. The first appearance and early progress of this complaint is not easily observed at the present time. At a period when the existence of the

malady was not recognised, men scarcely marked the increasing weakness of the king's character until at length he became imbecile. His oddities and eccentricities perplexed his friends, and when the disease was confirmed, a cruel use was made of it by the Yorkists.

As regards Queen Margaret, she came to England little more than a child, beautiful, accomplished, feminine, amiable, and, when we consider her whole career, we must admit, that she was more sinned against than sinning. There was nothing, in her early years, which marked her out for an Amazon, though there certainly were some indications of that unyielding spirit which afterwards hurried her into acts of perfidy, violence, and crime. When goaded into madness by the unmanly assaults of men who sought to blacken her chaste character, to insult her husband and to bastardize her child, she mistook cruelty for firmness; and she who, at this time, fainted at the sight of blood, could afterwards command its effusion without remorse. But when she was alone in the world, no husband to protect, no son to fight for, her original disposition reasserted its ascendancy; and this was not malignant or selfish. Highly educated, she found, in Henry, a mind capable of appreciating the literature of her country, and ready to advance that of England. But she soon discovered his weakness of character; and delighting to show the moral influence she exercised over a husband who adored her, she was ere long made use of, to influence his mind to party ends and objects. The husband, though a man, had all a woman's tenderness of character; the woman was obliged to play the man. She naturally fell under the sway of that party to which she was indebted for her high

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position. And in whom, indeed, could she confide but in the Duke of Suffolk, whom she regarded as a father? With the impulsiveness of her southern nature she learned to regard the opponents of her husband's government as her personal enemies; and, no doubt, to her we are to attribute the blame of converting the King of England into the mere head of a party. The party to which she attached herself was unpopular; it was regarded as unpatriotic; foreign in its predilections; prepared to relinquish the conquests of Henry V. without a struggle; and, as we have seen in one instance, so we may suppose in many others, Suffolk provoked hostility by parading his Gallican propensities. As is often the case, the young queen who, after all, was not at first more inclined to favour "Our adversary of France," than she was to favour the English interests on the Continent, being used by intriguing men for party purposes, was regarded by the country as the leader of those men, and the sobriquet of the "Outlandish Woman," marked her for obloquy.\*

Sufficient materials for writing a history of the early portion of Henry VI.'s reign we do not possess. If ever they come to light, I think we shall find that

\* By Polydore Vergil the following high character is given of Margaret at this time:—" *Puellam tam ultra alias Fœminas pulchram, quam prudentem, ac animo præter naturam sexus præditam ingenti, quod ejus Res gestæ quas suo ordine memorabimus perspicue declararunt.*"—Polyd. Verg. lib. xxiii. p. 491. Another foreigner compliments his countrywoman in a loftier strain:—" *L'Angleterre n'avoit point encore vue de Reine plus digne du trône que Marguerite d'Anjou. Nulle femme ne la surpassoit en beauté, et peu d'hommes l'égalloient en courage. Il sembloit que le Ciel l'eût formée à dessein de suppléer à ce qui manquoit à son mari pour être un grand Roi,*" &c.—D'Orleans, Hist. de Révol. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. p. 196.

undue blame has been attached to the Government, that was directed chiefly through the councils first of Beaufort and then of Suffolk, and to which Stafford was the chancellor or, nominally, the chief minister. Any of my readers may still probably feel, that to such a government, they, if living in the fifteenth century, would have been resolutely opposed. They would have regarded as unpatriotic a government favourable to "our adversary of France" and the pope; and certainly there was much that was offensive in Suffolk, who from advocating a peace policy became a partisan of the enemy. Beaufort, though quiescent, was undoubtedly the main instrument in introducing the new papal usurpation. On that point he may have been supported by Stafford, who not only accepted the legateship, but having made his nephew Archdeacon of Canterbury, procured for him also the office of prothonotary to the pope. At the same time, he tolerated the Cardinal of York, to whose history we shall have occasion hereafter more particularly to refer. But everything induces us to conclude that, though a friend to peace, Stafford did not agree with the leaders of his party in their admiration of the French. Henry V. and Chicheley steadily refused, in the negotiations with France, to employ the French as their common language: whereas Suffolk counselled the French embassy to address Henry VI. in French. This shows the bias of his mind. Stafford steadily refused to act thus; if the English was not used, he would only accept Latin as the neutral language. He incurred the censure of the young king evidently because, when willing to promote peace, he would not court the French. To the unfavourable terms offered by the French court he was so strongly opposed, that the negotiations, as conducted by the

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Count de Vendôme, came to nothing. He resigned the Great Seal, evidently because he was not in favour with the "outlandish woman;" and when the mob was ready to murder the other ministers, and even his own kinsman fell a victim to its fury, he retained that popularity, which belonged, with this exception, almost exclusively to the party of a bad man who, nevertheless, for his party connexions was known as "the good Duke of Gloucester." At the same time we must remember, that the eighteen years during which Stafford held the Great Seal were years of social progress. To jurisprudence attention had been called: and in 1443 Fortescue published his *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, the first work which treated of the principles of our law in the popular form.* If Dunstable was not actually the inventor of counterpoint, yet through his exertions the science of music made a marked progress.†

The extensive buildings which were rising on all sides showed that, if the taste of the country was not so correct as it had been in the preceding century, still there were men of genius who were too independent to be mere imitators. Although protection was the policy of the Government, yet when agriculturists petitioned against the growth of hops and called it "a wicked weed,"‡ the Government was wise enough not to grant it.

Regulations were made with reference to trade, which, if not such as a political economist would

* Foss, iv. 215.

† Dr. Burney maintains that the invention of counterpoint does not belong to Dunstable; but I am told that his work, "*De Mensurabili Musicâ*" was in advance of his age.

‡ Beckman, ii. 383.

approve, are sufficient to show that attention was paid to the subject. Measures were adopted for the more regular payment of the troops when called into action: any captain detaining the pay of a common soldier except for his clothing, was subjected to a payment of twenty pounds for every spear, and ten pounds for every bow; a high sum when multiplied by ten or fifteen. In Stafford's special department, the administration of justice, it was enacted that all justices of peace, except in cities and corporations, should have lands or tenements with twenty pounds a year; the object being to prevent the appointment of low men, who sold justice and had recourse to various schemes of extortion. A constitutional change, if not a reform, took place by the creation of a new rank in the peerage. This is remarkable as the introduction of a new system. The creation of the new dignity did not rest on the feudal or territorial character by which the other grades in the peerage were distinguished. The Government wanted to provide a cheap reward for "the new men." These persons, commencing life as diplomatists, privy counsellors, lawyers, were unwilling to encounter the odium which was beginning to be attached to statesmen who sought a remuneration by accumulating to themselves ecclesiastical preferments, the duties of which, if they did not entirely neglect, they only perfunctorily discharged.

We may not omit to mention that, in the days of Margaret's prosperity, her court was brilliant. Encouragement was given to literature, as well as to the civilising influences of music; while an air of purity was diffused around by the earnest though unobtrusive piety of the king. The munificence of the king, who, in 1443, had founded King's College, Cambridge, was

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imitated by the queen, who in 1449 founded Queen's College in the same university. Whether the piety of the king rendered the court more attractive to the ancient nobility, may be doubted; but it is certain that the patronage extended to foreign men of letters provoked the jealousy of the English, whose suspicious of the Anti-anglican propensities of the queen were, perhaps unjustly, roused. The real grievance was, the saucy insolence of the young queen to the ancient aristocracy. The members of the Privy Council sought to rule the king by the influence of his wife over his ductile mind. They made her a politician, and her vanity was flattered by the deferential manner in which their policy was, in reality, dictated to her understanding. She became a partisan; and an intolerant partisan. The opponents of her Government were insulted; and some of those insulted opponents were not only of the first families in the country, but many of them of even royal blood. The new men paid their court to the queen; the courtiers of the queen received the patronage of the king; and both she and they took delight in the display of their power. The nobles retired to their castellated mansions. There each had a court of his own, and received with encouragement all the scandal circulated against the court of the queen; even going so far as to accuse her of an intrigue with Suffolk. They must have been hard pressed for a real scandal, since Suffolk was old enough to be the royal lady's father. But she was unpopular, and, with the careless indifference of youth, she cared not for it; or rather, she rejoiced in what she regarded as the impotent malice of her enemies. To her account were laid, preposterous as the charge was, the disasters in France; and the disgrace brought upon the arms of

England before which France had quailed, went to the very heart of the English. The change in the ecclesiastical policy by the introduction of the papal system, began to affect the clergy; and the pulpit resounded with declamations against bad bishops and new lords. The lollards began to bestir themselves once more, and a cry was raised for reform. Whispers began to be circulated, that the king was only on the throne through sufferance, and that, if found to be incompetent, he might be replaced by the rightful heir.* The passions of the people were roused almost into madness, when it now became known that, to procure for the king a dowerless wife, unquestionable concessions had been made to the French, who received virtually, from the hands of the English, Anjou and Maine.

In 1450, occurred the first of those revolutionary movements for which this reign is notorious in history. It was a terrible year. The Duke of Suffolk was impeached by the House of Commons; sentence of banishment was pronounced against him, and on the 22d of May he was beheaded at sea. Lord Say was executed under the insurrectionary movement which was led by Jack Cade. The Bishops of Salisbury†

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* The charges brought against the Government are made by Gascoigne; but Gascoigne is a strong party writer. The clergy, for some reason or other, were so violent, and their sermons so political, that preachers were required to write their sermons, that they might be produced if called for.

† William Ayscough was descended, according to Fuller, from a worshipful and ancient family living in his time at Kelsey, in Lincolnshire. His brother Richard settled at Potgrange, in York, and seems to have been mistaken for the bishop's father, who was also named Richard. Educated at Cambridge, he graduated as a

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and Chichester* were murdered. The remarkable, and—with our present sources of information—the

doctor of laws, and practised for some years as a lawyer. He became clerk of the Council, and is said to have had a stall in Lincoln Cathedral, although I do not find his name among the prebendaries in Le Neve. He was confessor to Henry VI. and officiated at the king's marriage with the Lady Margaret. On the 20th of July, 1438, he was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor. He retained the office of confessor to the king, being the first bishop who discharged an office in the royal household, which was regarded as being beneath the episcopal dignity. His attendance at the court prevented his residing at his cathedral; and from his accumulation of money, we may suppose him to have been avaricious and inhospitable, at a time when the lollards had succeeded in raising a cry against the non-resident bishops. Jack Cade was his tenant, and by Jack Cade's mob he was destroyed. The rioters dragged him from the altar while he was officiating, and having plundered his house of ten thousand marks, "they did him to death" at Edington, on the 29th of June, 1450. He was buried in the Bonhomme's chapel, at Edington.—See Fuller's Worthies, ii. 10. Hollingshed, iii. 227. Eng. Chron. Cam. Soc.; continuation of Hist. of England. Reg. Ayscough. MSS. Wharton.

* Adam Moleyns, or Molineux. The time and place of his birth are unknown. We only know that he was a doctor in the Civil Law; that he was Archdeacon of Taunton in 1440; held a stall at York in 1441; that in the March of that year he became Dean of St. Burian's, and in the October Dean of Salisbury. Having been formerly clerk or secretary to the Privy Council, he was in 1444 made Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was consecrated to the see of Chichester, at Lambeth, on the 6th of February, 1446, and held the living of Harietsham, in Kent, *in commendam*. He was a benefactor to the see, bestowing on the cathedral some rich vestments, and procuring for the lands of the bishop an exemption from the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty. He acted as an assessor of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to try Elinor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, for witchcraft. In 1443 he accompanied the Earl of Suffolk into France, to treat of the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou. He naturally shared in the unpopularity of the Suffolk party, increased by this royal marriage. He was one of the commis-

unaccountable thing is, that John Stafford the chancellor not only remained uninjured, but retained his popularity. We have accounted for this by a reference to the narrative describing the reception of the French embassy; and to what we have said we may add, that on the occasion referred to we find the king, while reproving Stafford, showing marked attention to Kemp, Stafford's successor in the office of chancellor. If Stafford was not in favour at court, we can at once account for his being popular in the country.

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It was not necessary, in those days, when the idea of a cabinet did not exist, for a great officer of state to resign office because he might happen to be opposed to the policy of the court; but it is probable that, when the court became aware of impending danger, a desire was felt to secure the services of a chancellor more devoted to its interests than Stafford. It is certain, that he resigned the Great Seal in the January of 1450; and if—as is highly probable—he was compelled to do so, we see in that fact, another reason for his becoming popular. What makes this more likely is, sioners at Tours, to negotiate a truce with France, which was prolonged till the year 1449. He was disgusted with the state of public affairs, and determined to quit the country and to live abroad. He resigned his see, as is generally supposed, for this purpose. He certainly received an annuity of five hundred marks. When preparing for his voyage at Portsmouth, he was basely murdered, in a boat, by some seamen. It was reported that this murder was committed at the instigation of Richard, duke of York. This was probably a mere scandal, but it follows that, if such were the case, Moleyns was living in England, not, as it was said, that he might retire from public life, but to effect some political intrigue. The Duke of York was not a man likely to doom any one unnecessarily to death, though, in the party violence of the day, little regard was paid to the sacredness of human life.—Dallaway; English Chronicle; Feedera.

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that he evidently thought it possible, that an impeachment might be directed against him, not originating on the popular side, as in the case of Suffolk, but proceeding from the court. Before he resigned the chancellorship he was careful to obtain a patent of pardon for all offences committed during his tenure of office, to which patent his successor attached the great seal.

But whatever was the cause of his resignation, Stafford was a brave man; and when Jack Cade's insurrection was filling the country with alarm, he placed his services at the disposal of the Government, hazarding his life, by entering into a communication with the insurgents.

After the sentence of banishment pronounced upon the Duke of Suffolk, the king and queen were deprived of the counsellor upon whose paternal advice they had hitherto depended, and all was in a state of confusion. In May the news arrived of his murder, and of the applause with which the evil deed was received in Kent, where his executioners were concealed and entertained. It was determined, therefore, to avenge the duke's death by military execution on that county. The court was taken by surprise, when it was informed that the men of Kent, instead of waiting patiently to be executed, had risen in mass to redress the wrongs of the people. As none of the discontented nobles had ostensibly encouraged the insurgents, no great alarm was at first felt. It was, however, stated soon after, that it was not a mere mob-gathering: the insurgents were an organized body, and they had chosen a leader, one Jack Cade. And who was Jack Cade? The real answer is, that he was an unknown Irishman; but, in order to give a political significance to the insurrection, it was said that he was none other than Sir John

Mortimer, brother to the Earl of March. His bearing was princely, and to a commanding figure he added "a pregnant wit;"* he had served in the French wars, and was well qualified to act the part of a demagogue. There can be no doubt, that the rising Yorkist party watched his proceedings with interest; and even if it cannot be proved that they instigated Cade, it was from them that he expected his reward. The object of the insurrection was not indeed a change of dynasty, but merely a change of ministers. Cade probably only desired to displace the Government, without any ulterior object. If he succeeded, he would become a great man; and, in order to succeed, he had to inflame the minds of the people. The insurrection commenced in June during the Whitsuntide holidays. The rebels professed loyalty to the king; they demanded the dismissal and execution of the new men who formed the ministry; the restoration of the old aristocracy, especially of the nobles allied by blood to the royal family; and a general redress of grievances. Among the grievances urged by the rioters, as given by Stowe, it was stated, that the people of Kent complained of their not being suffered to elect knights of the shire; but letters were sent to the magnates of the county, requiring them to return as elected to serve in parliament, candidates whom the people had rejected. This is one of the earliest demands for parliamentary reform, and shows, together with the impeachment of Suffolk, the rising importance of the lower house of parliament.

The Court appears to have been apathetic, leaving it to the county magistrates to put down the riot; until news arrived, that the people were armed, and that

* I have followed Stowe and Hollinshed, comparing their accounts with those of the other chroniclers.

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under their leader they were marching upon the capital. Armies were in those times easily extemporized when a leader was at hand to take the command. Agincourt had taught the people that the plebeian bowmen were nearly a match for the aristocrat, hindered as well as protected by his defensive armour. Nevertheless, an army could hardly be distinguished from a mob, unless the leaders appeared in harness. Jack Cade encamped on Blackheath, between Eltham and Greenwich, on the 1st of June. Here, while he subsisted his people by pillaging the country, he opened a communication with the city, styling himself the Captain of the Commons. All business was transacted in an orderly manner. Passports were duly signed, and Thomas Cooke, of London, draper, was constituted the captain's agent. He was required to tax the foreigners—the Genoese, Venetian, and Florentine merchants. They were to be duly convened, and were required to supply “us, the Captain,” with twelve harnesses of the best fashion, twenty-four brigandines, twelve battle-axes, twelve glades, six horses with saddle and bridle completely harnessed, and a thousand marks in ready money. That the demand was met, is inferred by Stowe, from the fact that, when the rebels entered the city, no foreigner was molested.

The means which Cade employed in thus making his equipments, and gathering his forces, gave ample time to the king to collect an army for the defence of his crown; and Henry having placed himself at the head of fifteen thousand troops, opened negotiations with the insurgents. They informed him that no harm was intended to the king and his friends; their sole intention being to redress the grievances of the country, and to remove from his council certain flatterers

who were the enemies of himself and of the realm. They dismissed the king's messengers, with the information, that they should send messengers of their own to confer with parliament, now in session at Westminster. Two bills, as they were called, or, as we should now say, petitions, were sent to parliament. It is not necessary to present them to the reader, as Stafford was not immediately concerned with them, but they are to be read in Hollinshed, and are worthy of perusal; for they show the moderation of the rebels, and the nature of the grievances from which they required to be relieved.

The truth is, that the main object was to effect such a change in the ministry, as would place the Court under the control of the Yorkists, and we may suspect that this party had more to do with the insurrection than appears. When it failed, the Yorkists naturally tried to efface all connexion, however indirect, with Cade.

The bills appear to have been not unfavourably received by parliament, but the Council determined that, instead of redressing the grievances of the people, the king should be advised to put down the insurrection by force of arms.* They had indeed no choice but to give this advice, for their own destruction was the point chiefly aimed at.

The king placed himself at the head of his army, and marched against the insurgents, intending to give them battle at Blackheath. But Cade, who was aware that there was disaffection among the king's troops, and that it was politic to give the opportunities for desertion which a long march would afford; retreated, and posted himself in a wood near Sevenoaks. He

* Fabyan, 623.

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expected that if the royal army followed him, he would here be conveniently placed to receive an attack, and being well acquainted with the county, he planted ambushes for its destruction.

The plan was wisely designed and ably executed. The king returned to London, happy in the imagination that the terror of his arms had been such that the rebels had fled and dispersed. But the queen perceived the mistake ; and did what she could to arrest the blunder. She immediately sent Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William, with such of the army as could be collected at a short notice, to pursue the rebels, and to put down the insurrection. Sir Humphrey was the grandson of the archbishop's elder brother, and was now the head of this branch of the Stafford family. He was a gallant knight, and courageously attacked the rebels, though they far outnumbered the little force placed under his command. Jack Cade gained a complete victory, and had shown throughout superior generalship. What had become of Sir Humphrey and his brother, and the other brave young nobles who had followed them, was not known ; it was only known that the king's troops had been subjected to a severe defeat, and that the Captain of Kent was in a condition to march upon London. The moral effect of this victory was soon apparent. It was suspected that, even in the king's court, there were some who sympathised with the insurgents ; and, according to the ancient historians, there were many. When the lords were called upon to arm, they replied that their men refused to fight against their countrymen, who only sought "to amend the common weal." Among the great men a wish was expressed, that the Duke of York were at hand, as the only person

powerful enough to meet the crisis. This was tantamount to a declaration of the public feeling in regard to the incompetence of the king. His want of the common prudence of a general had conduced to the victory of the rebels. The Captain of Kent was now generally spoken of as Lord Mortimer, and regarded as a hero—the coming man. The Court, now alarmed lest the Londoners should open their gates to him, and join his forces, professed a readiness to meet the demand for a change of men and measures; and sent to the Tower the lord Say, the high treasurer, and personal friend of the king and queen. Cade was again on his march to London. He encamped at Blackheath, where he was strongly entrenched.

The king and queen felt that, with a powerful enemy before them, and with friends around them on whom they could not rely, their only chance was to negotiate; but by whom could the negotiations on their part be conducted? The rebels would not listen to any of the new lords or officials, for they had risen to destroy them. Under these circumstances, the Archbishop of Canterbury was implored to perform his good offices. It tells well for his patriotism and courage, that he at once consented to act. He knew the danger he encountered. His sacred calling was no longer a protection. If he had forgotten the fate of his predecessor Archbishop Sudbury, he had before him the fate of Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, who had been assassinated at the beginning of the year; and at this very time the news arrived that William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, had been murdered by the insurgents at Edington, in Wiltshire.

The brave old man was true to his king, his country, and his God. He associated with him the head of all

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the Staffords, the Duke of Buckingham. He knew that the brave respect the brave, and that by strong confidence in their honour we at once disarm the generous. They determined to proceed, without loss of time, to Blackheath, to discuss with the insurgents the subject of their grievances, and induce them, under promise that these grievances should be redressed, to lay down their arms and submit to the king's mercy. They could hardly have supposed, that they would succeed in such a mission, unless they had been previously under the impression that the redress of grievances was rather the pretext than the cause of the insurrection. If the rebellion had been instigated as a trial of strength by the Yorkist party, then the promise of a general amnesty might have effect; but it was not likely that the rebels would be cajoled into the laying down of their arms under promise of redress, at the time when they felt that the power of redress was in their own hands.

As the archbishop and his noble kinsman drew near the camp, they saw the effects of the late battle in the bodies of many of their friends and kinsmen who had fallen in the fight, and who had been stripped of their armour. All the precautions and discipline, at that time prevalent in armies, were strictly observed; and with much military pomp they were ushered into the presence of the captain. There a sight awaited them which they might well have been spared: a sight which at once declared the fate of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who, with his brother William, had not, as they had hoped, been made prisoners of war, but had died in battle. The captain stood before them, arrayed in the splendid armour of their kinsman. There was no mistaking the armour of which Sir Humphrey had

been so proud, "his brigandine set with gilt nails, his salet and his spurs." There was nothing to complain of; for these were the spoils of war, but still the sight was a sad one.

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When the conference commenced, the archbishop and the duke admitted that, in the chief before them, they had to do with a man of no ordinary powers of mind. He knew the object, of course, which the insurrection was designed to answer, and kept it steadily before him. The negotiators argued on the king's readiness to pardon the rebellion and to redress the grievances; and very loyal were the expressions of the captain. So loyal was he, that he would confer with no one but the king himself. He would not lay down his arms, until the obnoxious ministers were dismissed; in other words, until the incompetent king was placed in the hands of the Duke of York,—the Duke of York and his supporters having now succeeded to the popularity bequeathed to them by the Duke of Gloucester and his party. This was the real meaning of the demand for a conference with the king personally. If the king would come to Blackheath he would find the insurgents a loyal army; prepared to protect the royal person, and to give him a council which would rule *him*, as he desired to rule *them*.

When the archbishop returned to the camp he could only advise one course to be pursued. It was now evident, that what the insurgents wanted was to obtain possession of the king's person. And, therefore, to place the king out of their reach was the first thing to be done. No confidence could be placed in the troops, who openly sympathised with the rebels. It was suspected that among the servants of the court there were some in correspondence with them; and

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the Londoners were preparing to open their gates and to give a friendly reception to Lord Mortimer and his army. Therefore the king and queen were advised to retire to the stronghold of Kenilworth. Before they did so, they took all the precautions they could for the preservation of the peace, by concentrating all the troops that could be trusted, in the Tower; and by placing them under the command of Lord Scales and Sir Matthew Gough, famous captains in the French wars.

To the Tower the archbishop resorted; and there, without any ostensible effort, was of great service to the country. The rebels approached London. At first they were well received. Lord Mortimer was fêted, and ample provision was made for his followers. But when, after a time, the rabble got among the cellars of London, their captain ceased to have control over them. The Londoners, insulted and robbed, became exasperated. A battle was fought in the streets, in which Sir Matthew Gough was slain; but neither side claimed the victory. There was, however, a suspension of arms; and for one day, the Londoners were to confine themselves to the city, and the rebels were to make Southwark their head-quarters. "That great statesman, the Archbishop of Canterbury," as the chronicler styles him, seized the opportunity, and showed himself equal to the crisis. He saw the rebels disheartened by the resistance of the Londoners, from whom they had expected support; he heard that Cade, in despair, had ordered the prisons to be opened, and had invited the most desperate characters in the country to join his forces. The archbishop, who had been left by the king and queen in charge of the Government, without any definite office, determined

to forestall Jack Cade, by adopting the bold measure of himself commanding the prisons to be opened. He would let the prisoners loose, on condition that they should *not* join the rebel army; and he was secure that, when the Londoners were armed as they now were, the liberated prisoners, without arms, would not be able to do much mischief, and could, if they attempted it, be recaptured. He conferred with the Bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese Southwark is situated. He drew out a general pardon. Although no longer chancellor, the great seal was left in the Tower; and he boldly incurred the responsibility of attaching it to the pardon, though for doing so he might have been accused of treason. He went forth into Southwark, and there he proclaimed a general amnesty to all who laid down their arms immediately—Jack Cade alone excepted: the pardon extended to all offences, so as to disarm, as it were, the inmates of the prison; whom Cade would have released on condition of their running a fresh risk of life by joining his sinking cause. The archbishop was received, wherever he went, as a messenger of peace: the army of Jack Cade was at once dissolved. The multitudes hastened to their homes. The mighty avalanche had melted away.

As Cade had failed to secure the person of the king, he did not receive the protection from the Yorkists he had been led to expect. They learned, from his failure, that the country was not yet ripe for a revolution. Jack Cade, as every one knows, was found by Sir Alexander Eden, a gentleman of Kent, in his garden at Heathfield, in Sussex. Alexander tried to take him, was resisted, fought with him, and valiantly slew him.

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In the whole of these transactions the archbishop appears a wise, straightforward, honest, and courageous man. The consideration which he received is still further remarkable from what happened to Lord Say and Sele and Mr. Cromer, his son-in-law. The former had been lord treasurer in the obnoxious ministry, and had, like the archbishop, sought refuge in the Tower. The governor was compelled by the rebels to deliver him up to their vengeance. He was tried by them before the Lord Mayor and some of the judges, who were coerced to attend the trial. He was condemned, and executed. Cromer, too, the sheriff of Kent, they also destroyed; but Archbishop Stafford, who had been chancellor in the same government in which Lord Say and Sele held office, and who, as archbishop, resided during part of the year in the county of which Cromer was sheriff, not only was spared, but was even treated with honour. There must be something connected with his official life which has not yet come to light.

Although Stafford is chiefly to be regarded as a statesman, yet he was not altogether oblivious of his duties as an ecclesiastic. In the year of his translation to the see of Canterbury, he issued a pastoral letter or precept, deprecating the custom of holding fairs and markets in churches and the cemeteries which usually surrounded them, on the Lord's day, or on any festival except during the time of harvest.* He published also, in 1445, a constitution for the stricter observance of the feast of King Edward the Confessor:—

“Every church is bound to venerate and extol with special praises, and with a prerogative of devotion, those saints with whose peculiar patronage and miracles she is illustrated;

* Regist. Stafford.

therefore, that the divine majesty may be more amply glorified in the saints in our holy mother the English church, which is irradiated by the prayers and frequent miracles of the most blessed Edward, confessor and king, and by whose merits histories say the kingdom of England was formerly delivered from the cruelty of pagans ; we, with the unanimous consent and advice of our brethren in our last convocation, and also at the repeated instances of our most devout and Christian king, our supreme lord (who doubts not but that his kingdom and royalty is defended by the intercession and patronage of this most glorious king and confessor), have decreed, ordained, and enacted, that the feast of the translation of the said St. Edward be celebrated throughout our province of Canterbury every year in a solemn manner, for the future.”*

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Archbishop Stafford was no doubt, more interested in the legal controversy which now arose between the ecclesiastical and the lay lawyers. Formerly the great majority of lawyers, in all the courts of justice, were in holy orders. But the legal practice had now become sufficiently lucrative to enable a lawyer to support himself without holding church preferments in addition to any honorarium he might receive from his clients. Many of them were men who were glad to be released from those restraints which, whether strictly observed or not, were imposed by the canons upon the clergy. As the lay practitioners increased in number, they began to desire to exclude the clergy from a share of those profits which were not at this time considerable, and they joined in the cry of the lollards, when they called upon the clergy to cease from pluralities and to reside on their livings. The usurpations also of the see of Rome, though gradual, had now come to a climax, and were continually creating legal difficulties which led to disputes and

* Regist. Stafford.

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controversies, not only personally between the practitioners in different courts, but in relation to the jurisdictions of the several courts themselves. At a convocation held at London, in the second year of Stafford's primacy, it was moved, probably at the archbishop's suggestion, that an act of parliament should be obtained to prevent vexatious suits, instituted for the purpose of bringing ecclesiastics into the king's courts, in contravention of certain ecclesiastical rights and privileges.

Thus early do we find that jealousy between the king's courts and the courts Christian, which had much to do with the Reformation in the reign of King Henry VIII.

This could not fail to result from the new feature of popery introduced by the policy of Martin V. From his time, it was the determination of the popes that the independent rights of national churches, which had existed and been bravely fought for by the clergy till the fifteenth century, should henceforth be ignored; that the primate was to be made subordinate to a papal legate, or else be compelled in his own person to permit the archiepiscopal to merge into the legatine authority. When this was admitted, as after Chicheley's faint resistance it soon came to be admitted, then it followed that the *de facto* primate of each national church was the pope. If this were the case, it still further followed, as a matter of course, that the ecclesiastical courts would lose their national character, and be employed as means to uphold a foreign interest. An *imperium in imperio* was established, and the newly-established *imperium* might, or might not, according to circumstances, be in harmony with the general policy of the nation.

If the reader weighs well what has been advanced here, and in the life of Chicheley, he will clearly see, as we have before shown, that popery, in the strict and modern sense of the word, was now established ; and that too, entirely superseding the idea of a national church. The leaven had begun immediately to work ; although there was no one in England who perceived the insidious operation of the new system, or the precise end aimed at by the new policy of Rome. It was only gradually that men's eyes were opened to the fact, that when the Primate of England accepted permanently the office of *legatus à latere*, the whole position of the Church was changed. It was one of those facts which could only be brought out by controversy, and the controversy now began which raged with ever-increasing force until the reign of Henry VIII., when that monarch saw clearly that by the stratagem of Martin V., systematically acted upon, the clergy held a divided allegiance to two masters. At present, as is generally the case in the rise of controversies, neither party knew precisely its position. No pitched battle was as yet to be fought ; but only some very serious skirmishes. From disputes between two classes of lawyers, those who were and those who were not in holy orders, the controversy had passed on to a dispute between the rights of two classes of courts—the king's courts and the spiritual courts. The clergy had almost retired from practising in the king's courts ; but then they tried to bring the right of trial, in almost every suit, within the scope of the courts Christian, where they still wished to practise. In the course of the controversy, the clergy were astonished to find that the statutes of provisors and præmunire were brought to bear against them, —the statutes of which they were instrumental in

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procuring the enactment, to defend them and the national church against the usurpation of the pope. The statute of *præmunire*, as passed in the sixteenth year of Richard II., enacted that "if any purchase, or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome—or alibi, elsewhere—any such translations, processes, or sentences, or excommunications, bulls, instruments, *or any other things*, which touch the king, his regality, or his realm, then the penalties of the statute should be incurred."

The importance of an "alibi" was even at that time recognised,—or at all events, the clergy felt that they could not permit the attack upon their privileges to remain unnoticed. In the convocation of 1456, both houses presented an address to the king on the subject. They maintained that the lawyers in the spiritual courts were not one whit behind the crown lawyers in their zeal to promote the welfare of the king and his kingdom, and that in the maintenance of the customs and constitution of the country the ecclesiastical courts, where the judgments were given in accordance with a written code, must be more efficient than the courts of common law, where the judgments were often arbitrary and uncertain, from a right assumed by the judges to place what construction they might please upon acts of parliament, or even to supersede them by precedents established in the court.

They refer to the fact that the statutes of *præmunire* were passed at the instance of the hierarchy, and consequently not with any intention to interfere with their rights as judges. Unqualified and unworthy persons, with no other merit than the length of their purses, had been accustomed to apply to the court of Rome; and there to purchase, through the iniquitous

system of provisions, the best benefices and dignities of the Church. They stated that the bishops of the Church of England, by the ambition and avarice of the Court of Rome, had been in this way deprived of their rights of patronage, or of the free disposal of preferment pertaining to their office; and to remedy this grievance, — which bore exclusively upon patronage in the hands of ecclesiastics, since no attempt was made to interfere with the rights of lay patrons—the statutes of *præmunire* had been enacted. Severe penalties were inflicted upon all who should solicit any provision or church patronage at the Court of Rome, or demise, publish, or execute any summonses, processes, excommunications, or ecclesiastical censures, pronounced or decreed against the king or his subjects on the score of such provisions, by the pope at Rome. The word “elsewhere” was added simply because the pope was frequently absent from Rome, residing sometimes at Lyons, sometimes at Pisa, sometimes at Avignon, or “elsewhere;” and also because the papal legates were accustomed not unfrequently to sign and expedite these instruments in their master’s name, and so through their being “elsewhere,” the law might, without the insertion of this word, be evaded. The petition of the clergy was reasonable enough. If the ecclesiastical judges exceeded the bounds of their proper jurisdiction, let them be restrained by prohibitions; and if they disregarded the prohibitions, let them be punished for contempt. But the punishment, in all equity and reasonable construction of the law, ought to be proportioned to the fault; and assuredly, it was remarked, if the prelates happen, by inadvertence, to take cognizance of matters belonging to the Courts of Westminster Hall, and encroach on the royal jurisdic-

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diction, they ought not to suffer the same penalties as the pope's provisors. They asked that the words "and elsewhere," which were thus misconstrued by the lawyers, might be explained by act of parliament, and that ecclesiastical judges might not be liable to a præmunire, unless they took no notice of prohibitions from the king's court.*

As the clergy were really in the right with respect to the "alibi," while it could not be denied that there had been encroachments on either side, the chancellor did not find it difficult to appease the present strife. The controversy, however, did not cease until the clergy were ousted from the courts of common law, and until the courts Christian admitted their subordination to the royal authority.

It was during the primacy of Stafford, that one of the most extraordinary characters appearing on the face of history first came into notice—Reginald Pecock. I speak of him as an extraordinary character because he owes his fame to an historical blunder. To the present hour, Reginald Pecock, through the influence of puritan writers on the public mind, is spoken of as a protestant bishop, before the Reformation; whereas Reginald Pecock was anathematized in his own age because he was the assertor of Ultramontane principles, and an upholder of those extreme pretensions of the Bishop of Rome which, if admitted, would annihilate the liberties of the people. We can only attribute this to the fact that he held certain doctrines which were, or were reputed to be, heretical; but it is hardly judicious thus to claim for Protestantism whatever the Church condemned as heretical, and it is an absurdity to do so when the reputed heretic was a supporter of the papacy.

* Regist. Stafford.

Pecock, a Welshman by birth, became a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1417, and was a student of divinity, distinguished by the possession of great abilities and still more for an ostentatious display of them, and an overweening vanity. He was appointed to the see of St. Asaph in 1444, and was consecrated by Archbishop Stafford.*

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It will be remembered by the reader, that the pope had triumphed over the councils. The councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle had declared the pope to be the servant of the Church, and answerable therefore for his conduct to the Church represented by a general council. Being only *primus inter pares*, he might, by the bishops representing the different national churches, be deposed. When the pope had succeeded in silencing the councils of the fifteenth century, he asserted the opposite principle. He declared the pope to be not the *primus* among equals, but the source of all power, to whom all bishops were subordinate, being in fact little more than his deputies, the delegates of the see of Rome. This doctrine, novel in the fifteenth century—during which period the most distinguished divines of the age had laboured to maintain the liberty of the Church—Reginald Pecock maintained, with much eloquence and some show of learning, in a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1447.

The lollards had asserted, and the common sense of the people had ratified the assertion, that the first duty of bishops was to minister in sacred things and to preach the Gospel to the people. The people were indignant when they found that the endowments designed to maintain a learned and active clergy were spent in support of those who devoted all their time and thought

* Stubbs, 67.

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to the service of the State. They felt still greater indignation when the pope sought to remunerate those who acted as his servants in distant parts, by empowering them to enrich themselves by the appropriation of property left by our ancestors, not to enable a foreign potentate to enrich his followers, but to secure the services of superior men to instruct God's people in a defined locality. Pecoek resolutely opposed this opinion. He affirmed, that preaching the Gospel did not mean merely the delivery of sermons, but the furtherance of the Christian cause in the courts of princes and the debates of senates. Therefore the king and the pope were both of them justified in calling bishops and the dignitaries of the Church, from their dioceses, from their cathedrals and from their parishes, to attend their councils, and even to command their troops. He contended, that papal pensions and the payment of annuities were not simoniacal acts. He was, as he admits, the more eager to proclaim these principles, not only that he might refute the lollards; but also because he would remove the scruples perplexing not a few of the bishops themselves. Many prelates having upheld in their younger days the liberty of the Church as asserted in the councils, were by no means prepared to acquiesce in the Ultramontaniam now demolishing all that they had hitherto done.

When we thus keep before us the history of the times and the state of public opinion, we are not surprised, as some writers have been, at the treatment which Pecoek experienced at the hands of the English hierarchy. He was not their advocate; at least, he was not the advocate of the old-fashioned bishops represented at Constance, but was the champion, against

them, of the pope. We can easily imagine the indignation with which the beneficed clergy of the Church of England drew out the logical consequence of the assertion now first made in England: that the pope was the universal pastor, who, as such, possessed a right to the profits of all the ecclesiastical benefices of the Christian Church. He actually stated, in his sermon, that, when now a demand for five thousand marks or a yet greater sum was made upon bishops to pay the pope, before their election was confirmed, they were not guilty of simony on this account, because by this payment they did not give anything to the pope, but only made a tender to him of what was his own; as does a bailiff or steward when he accounts or reckons with his lord.* The indignation excited by such a proposition in the minds of the English clergy and laity,—who had for years, through the statutes of provisors and præmunire, treated such sentiments as treasonable, and sought to vindicate the independence of their Church,—is more easily imagined than described.

The archbishop found the tumult occasioned by the introduction of these new doctrines to be such, as to require his interference. He called upon the Bishop of St. Asaph for an explanation. The explanation was given in writing; and is the document from which we mainly derive the historical statements here given.

Instead of making a satisfactory explanation, Pecock,

* Lewis, 42. Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS. It is certainly extraordinary to find such a preacher represented as a protestant. That he was in league with the pope against the ancient clergy of England might be inferred from the fact, that his intimate friend, who attended during the delivery of the sermon, was Vincentius Clemens, the pope's collector of the tenths.

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in his zeal for the pope, thought it necessary to attack the Fathers. Such a doctrine as that of regarding the pope as universal bishop, which was now propounded, was unknown in the primitive Church. Consequently, a still further step was taken towards Ultramontanism by deprecating the authority of the Fathers, as being superseded by that of the Bishop of Rome. The vanity and impetuosity of Pecock, when once he had got upon this subject, carried him further than he had designed. He was especially violent in declaiming against those Fathers who are commonly called the four doctors of the Church—St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory.*

Pecock, whatever were his offences, escaped at this time, with impunity. The archbishop had, we know, acceded to the new doctrine, though whatever he held he always held in moderation. Besides the archbishop, there was a rising party of ambitious churchmen, who, on the dissolution of the convents, perceived, or thought they perceived, that the old Anglican ground was no longer tenable. These persons courted the favour of Rome, by not opposing the pretensions of the pope, though they did not feel it necessary, at present, to proclaim them with the unrestrained zeal of Pecock.

It was the papal policy to conciliate the English sovereign, especially when this could be done by compliments not drawing heavily on the papal treasury. Ludowick de Cordova, a gentleman of the pope's bed-chamber, was sent to England, the bearer of a present from Eugenius IV. to Henry VI.,—that of the Golden Rose. In the papal letter, occupying two folio pages in Wilkins, the value of the present is explained and

* Babington's Pref. to the Repressor, xix.

magnified.* The pope observes, that the reasons of some of the most solemn ceremonies celebrated by the Roman pontiff, are sometimes too deep to be understood, not merely by the vulgar, but even by the moderately intelligent. He, therefore, explains to the king, that a golden rose was annually consecrated by the reigning pontiff on the seventh Sunday after Septuagesima or in mid-Lent, and bestowed upon some prince whom the pope might delight to honour.

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“With such a rose we have presented,” the document proceeds to say, “four princes in our time, two kings of the Romans, one of Castile, a fourth of Arragon, with an intention to excite and impel them against infidels that are enemies to Christ; that if we could not move them by our words, we might do it by their religious regard for an apostolical present. Having lately considered these things, and the great faith and devotion of your serenity towards us and the Church of Rome, we thought it not only decent but just, that you should be decorated with the same gift; because last year, at our request, you not only granted a supply of the tenths of your kingdom against the Turks, the enemies of Christ, but promised an auxiliary force of armed men. And we hope that this rose will more effectually dispose you to assist the Church of Rome against the barbarians, to your own perpetual glory.”

While the pope sought thus cheaply to cajole the king and to obtain a grant of money, he directed the archbishop to levy tenths from the clergy of the English church, ostensibly with the view of conducting the war against the Turks. Stafford, who was subservient enough, and more than enough, was too clear-sighted not to perceive, that if the pope wished to establish a moral influence over the Church of England, without which all attempts to govern the

* Wilkins, iii. 504.

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clergy would be vain, he must spare their pockets. He explained to the Roman authorities, that the laws and statutes of the realm would not permit the taxation of the clergy without the royal consent ; and that to expect the royal consent, under the existing state of feeling in the country, was to expect an impossibility. He had the satisfaction of being able, in this instance, as in so many others, to preserve the peace, by persuading all parties to avoid extremes. He certainly obtained the blessedness of being a peacemaker.

The king was husbanding all his resources to complete the two noble institutions which, following the example of William of Wykeham, he had founded at Cambridge and at Eton.* His mind at this time, if not vigorous, for such it never was, nevertheless was clear, and he carried out the plan suggested by his piety and his love of learning, with judgment and discretion. As a proof of his indefatigability in this labour of love, we may mention that when he was planning the choir of the chapel, he sent commissioners to measure the size of the chief cathedrals, in order that he might decide upon its proportions. He resided for some time at Winchester, to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the working of William of Wykeham's school there. He had for his adviser Bishop Becketon. He appointed no less a person than Lyndwood to draw up the statutes ; and nominated to be the first master of Eton, William Waynfleet, who had been, for several years, head-master of Winchester. We may claim some merit in the transaction for Stafford ; for he, being keeper of the king's

* A series of papers, containing Henry's own projects and building accounts, have lately been discovered at Eton ; or rather, having been mislaid, they are rediscovered.

conscience, was frequently consulted while the great work was in progress. He had the honour of fixing the great seal to the charter in 1441; and when he uttered the prayer *Floreat Etona*, a response was returned from grateful and loving hearts, which still sounds amidst the mansions, no longer castellated, of the gentlemen of England.

Those were the happy days of the gentle King Henry VI. Before the death of Stafford, discontent with a weak government, and jealousy of an injudicious queen, who was more skilful to exasperate enemies than to conciliate friends, had caused the people to canvass those strong pretensions to the crown which were now put forth in favour of the Duke of York. There was a difficulty, at the time, in understanding the subject, and in tracing descent through the different branches of the female line. When the representatives of females laid claim to the crown, some thought that the crown might be considered in abeyance, and that out of the rival candidates the country might make its choice. The majority of people were content with the arrangement that satisfied the conscientious king himself. He had been anointed king; his father had been so before him; and his grandfather before that: who, therefore, could have so clear a right to the throne as he? But the condition of the country, after Jack Cade's insurrection, became so unsatisfactory, that the archbishop thought fit, in 1451, to issue orders to all the churches of his province that supplications should be made with solemn litanies, on certain days, for the preservation of peace and for the safety of the king, the church, and the realm. The people were exhorted to prayer, fasting, and good works. Under the head of good works, was included an

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attendance on processional litanies, and pilgrimages to the shrines of saints. The intercessions of the departed in the Church triumphant were invoked, in behalf of the country to which it was believed their patronage was still extended.

In August, 1451, the archbishop repaired to Canterbury, there to receive the king, who had determined to set an example to his subjects by making a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The primate was attended, on this occasion, by the Archbishop of York, by the Bishop of Ely, and by the Bishop of Winchester, Waynfleet; and prepared to receive his royal master with due state. All things were ready when, on St. Stephen's day, the royal procession entered the city. The archbishop placed himself at the head of the convent—the prior and other ministers of the chapter being arrayed in green copes—and at the church-gate he received the king. The royal and the archiepiscopal procession then turned towards the cathedral. The great west door, closed except upon such occasions, was thrown open; and Henry was soon seen prostrate before the shrine of a saint, terrible to kings who refused to do him homage; until, in the person of Henry VIII., the insulted majesty of England had its revenge.

The pilgrimage had a political not less than a religious character. The king was attended by the Duke of Somerset, the successor in the royal favour to the murdered Duke of Suffolk; by the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and the prior of St. John Baptist, London.* By these a council was held at Canterbury.

* MS. c.c.c.c. No. 417. *Liber Fratris Johannis Stone, Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. quia ex suo magno labore composuit Domini 1467 Monachatus sui quinquagesimo.*

The need of wise counsellors was soon apparent: for within a few months the contending factions had each of them raised an army; and it became apparent that the contest would be decided not by words, but by blows.

Before a blow was struck, however, or blood was actually shed in that internecine strife which desolated England for thirty years, Archbishop Stafford was called to his rest. He expired at his manor of Maidstone, on the 25th of May, 1452, and was buried at Canterbury in the martyrdom; where he lies under a flat marble stone, inlaid with brass.*

* Somner, 137.

CHAPTER XX.

JOHN KEMP.

Kemp, a distinguished Statesman.—Multiplicity of his Preferments.—Born at Olanteigh.—Went to School at Canterbury.—Became a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.—Graduated in Laws, but confined his Practice to Canon Law.—Employed as Counsel against Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.—Patronized by Arundel and Chicheley.—Made Dean of Arches and Vicar-General to the Archbishop.—Introduced by latter to Henry V.—Went on Embassy to the King of Arragon.—Held Musters at Caen and inspected the Troops.—Consecrated to the See of Rochester.—Appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal and Chancellor of the Duchy of Normandy.—Translated to Chichester.—Translated to London.—*Congé d'Elire* a Nullity.—Resigns the Great Seal of Normandy.—Ambassador to Scotland.—Succeeded Beaufort in the Chancellorship.—Translated to York.—Difficulties with the Pope.—Kemp's Enthronement.—His Duties as Chancellor in Council and Parliament.—His Ministry not negligent on the point of Social Reform.—His Adherence to the Beaufort Party.—The good Duke of Gloucester.—Kemp prepared the way for Cardinal Beaufort's Return to England.—Party Tactics.—Clergy discontented with the Policy of Rome.—Kemp's Care of the Chapels Royal.—Resigns the Great Seal.—Chosen to represent the Church of England at the Council of Basle.—His Letter to Council.—Delays his Departure.—His Mission chiefly political.—The Council deposes the Pope; the Pope excommunicates the Council.—Modern Romanism established.—Embassy at Arras.—Kemp's Wisdom as a Diplomatist.—Perfidy of the Duke of Burgundy.—Kemp at the Head of the Embassy to France.—Convention between Cardinal Beaufort and the Duchess of Burgundy.—Contemporary Account.—St. Bridget.—Kemp adheres to the new Romish System.—Failure of Embassy.—Cardinal's Hat offered to Kemp.—Neglect of his episcopal Duties.—Incidental Evils of Monastic System.—Sale of Livings.—Kemp's Unpopularity in Yorkshire.—His strong Measures and unjustifiable Conduct.—The amiable Side of his Character.—His Love of Retirement and his Attachment to Kent.—His Munificence at Wye.—Regulations of his College.—Purchases the Living.—A Benefactor to Oxford.—Is recalled to Public Life.—Lord Chancellor.—Queen Margaret's Minister.—Endeavours to protect the Duke of Suffolk.—Stretches his Authority for that

Purpose in vain.—Yorkists in Force.—Kemp's vigorous Administration.—Conduct under Jack Cade's Insurrection.—Hereditary Right to the Crown first asserted by the Duke of York.—Translation of Kemp to Canterbury.—Convocation to grant a Subsidy.—The Pope's Agent, Clemens Vincentius, announces to the Synod the Pope's Intention to quit Rome.—Yorkist Libels against Kemp.—The King's Illness.—Kemp as a Judge.—His Alarm at the Riots.—Sponsor to the Prince of Wales.—Sudden Death.—Inventory of Goods.

WHENEVER the history of the early portion of the reign of Henry VI. shall be written, the name of Kemp will appear as that of no mean politician. Although he belongs to a party which the Lancastrian chroniclers did not think it worth while to defend, and which the favourers of the house of York treated with contempt; yet it will probably be found that the counsellors of peace, when the powerful mind and the strong right hand of Henry V. was withdrawn from the helm of the state, were the wisest statesmen, if not the truest patriots. Of the Christian spirit which ought always to incline us to peace we do not see much, because, by the Christianity of that age, war was encouraged as the nurse of manly virtue and the school of chivalrous adventure. Party feeling certainly bound the followers of Beaufort and Suffolk into an alliance with the see of Rome which was fraught with mischief, but the mischief resulting from that alliance was only in after ages gradually developed.

But whatever may be our estimate of Kemp's merits, whether as a statist, as a lawyer, or as an ecclesiastic,

Authorities.—*Anglia Sacra*. Continuation of the Chronicle of Croyland. Hall. Fabyan. Plumpton Correspondence. Paston Letters. Acts of Privy Council. Rot. Parl. *Fœdera*. In this, as in many other lives, the difficulty has been greater than a superficial reader may suppose, to pick out the biography of an individual which has never been written from a general history of his times.

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that they were abundantly rewarded is beyond dispute or doubt.

The multiplicity of his neglected preferments may be adduced, as one proof out of many, of the necessity of a sweeping reform in the Church. He regarded his clerical preferments simply as the means by which provision was to be made for a minister of state, and he seems to have been insensible of his responsibilities as a minister of God. In all this he only acted on the principle of many of his predecessors in the episcopal office ; but with this difference, that he lived in an age when attention was called to the inconsistency of an ecclesiastic postponing his duty to God, in order that he might obey with the greater alacrity the call of Cæsar. All his preferments were comprehended, it was long thought, in a line written by his kinsman, Thomas Kemp, bishop of London :

“Bis primas, ter præsul erat, bis cardine functus ;”

but old Fuller, in his “Worthies of England,” made the following addition :—

“Et dixit legem bis cancellarius Anglis.”

John Kemp was born in the year 1480, at Olanteigh, in the parish of Wye, and the county of Kent. We have his own authority for stating, that he was baptized in the parish church of St. Gregory.* Olanteigh is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Stour, about a mile from the town of Wye. The name, according to Camden, signifies an ait, or island ; and the manor was probably in former times insulated by a backwater

* *Anglia Sacra*, i. 380. Kemp mentions the fact in his preface to the statutes for his college.

or beck. The family of Kemp, according to Hasted, was knightly; and the estate was certainly in the hands of Ralph Kemp in the reign of Edward I.* Roger, the grandson of Ralph, dying without issue in the year 1428, the estate passed into the hands of his brother Thomas, the archbishop's father, who, having married Beatrix, daughter of Sir Thomas Lewknor, had another son bearing his own Christian name, the elder brother of John. Thomas, the younger son of the archbishop's brother, became in process of time Bishop of London; and of him we shall have occasion hereafter to speak. He was the author of the verse just quoted. By the descendants of the archbishop's brother the property of Olanteigh was possessed till the seventeenth century, when the Sir Thomas Kemp of that day, having only daughters, co-heiresses, the estate was sold.†

Upon these details we have dwelt, the rather because John Kemp was not only amiably attached to his family; but, whenever he could escape from the avocations of a busy life, he was accustomed to seek rest of body and refreshment of mind, in the place of his nativity and amidst the scenes of his childhood. There is always a pleasure in connecting a great mind at a distant period, with the ordinary feelings of com-

* "Leland, as to his birth, is certainly mistaken, for he was son of Thomas, younger brother of Sir Roger Kemp, of Ollantigh, Knt. by Beatrix his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Lewknor, Knt."—Hasted, 339. "The ruins of a collegiate church are here yet still to be seen, first built by John Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury, born in this town, the son of Thomas Kemp, and Beatrice his wife, who were fairly entombed in this their son's foundation."—Weever, 274.

† For information relative to Olanteigh I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Francis E. Tuke, incumbent of Wye; and to an interesting volume on the topography of Wye, by Mr. Morris.

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monplace life ; and few men have been successful in the field of intellectual labour, who cannot understand the delight with which the over-wrought mind contemplates the prospect of rest.

“Cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino
Labore fessi venimus ad larem nostrum,
Desideratoque acquiescimus lecto.”

There was not any school, at this time, in existence at Wye. We may presume therefore that it was at the celebrated school attached to the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, that young Kemp received his primary education. At an early period of life, he went to Oxford, and there became a fellow of Merton.

His university character stood so high, that his literary exercises attracted the attention of those scholars in different parts of England, who still took an interest in all that recalled their minds to their happy Oxford days. He became, in course of time, an LL.D., although, in practice, he confined himself to the canon law.

When he quitted the university, John Kemp practised as a lawyer in the ecclesiastical courts, and soon attracted the attention of Archbishop Arundel. He was employed as a counsel at the trial of Sir John Oldcastle in 1413. Upon the history of Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, the original of Shakespeare's Falstaff, “the old man of the castle,” we have no occasion to dwell here. That history has come under our notice in the life of Arundel, and also in the life of Chicheley. In this case Kemp certainly showed his ability as an advocate. When, instead of examining, the court was permitting itself to be drawn into a controversy on the doctrine of transubstantiation, Kemp interposed, and reminded Oldcastle of the articles of his

accusation, to which a categorical answer was required. He pressed upon the defendant the four points of the controversy which were most fatal to his case.*

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A young man, with a high university character, who had, on such an occasion, displayed much tact and discretion, was at once marked out for preferment. He was as acceptable to Archbishop Chicheley as he had been to that primate's predecessor; and, in 1415, the year after Chicheley's translation, Kemp became Dean of the Court of Arches and Vicar-general to the Metropolitan.

Through the kind offices of Archbishop Chicheley, Kemp was introduced to the notice of King Henry V., who was quick to discern intellectual power, and not slow in calling it into action. In July, 1415, the Dean of the Arches was employed to negotiate a peace with the King of Arragon, and to treat for a marriage with his daughter. He was indeed engaged in various negotiations at this time, which it is not necessary to particularize.† In 1418, however, we may mention that the lawyer and ecclesiastic, ready to undertake any duty to which he might be called, was employed as a military man to hold musters at Caen, and on one occasion to inspect the troops.

In the meantime, Kemp was acquiring a sufficient income, through his various pieces of ecclesiastical preferment. At an early period of life, he had obtained the rectory of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, which he resigned in 1408.‡ He had also the living of South-

* Foss, iv. 335. The trial, as given by Foxe, with his interpolations, is published among the State Trials.

† *Fœdera*, iv. 3, 17; iv. 3, 35; iv. 3, 52; iv. 3, 86.

‡ Newcourt, i. 22.

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wick, in Sussex.* But the first dignity to which he was called was the archdeaconry of Durham.† It does not appear when he was appointed. It must have been subsequently to the year 1416, when the office was held by John Honyingham.‡ He was in possession of it in 1419; in the January of which year he was elected to the see of Rochester. The papal provision was issued on the 26th of June; and on the 9th of December he was invested with the temporalities and spiritualities of the diocese by the archbishop. He was probably consecrated at Rouen, at the same time with Bishop Morgan, of Worcester, on the 3d of December.§ In the April following, Henry V. made him keeper of his privy seal; and within two years he was nominated Chancellor of the Duchy of Normandy.

On the 28th of February, 1421, he was translated to the see of Chichester. But among our documents no register of Kemp is to be found. It may, therefore, be presumed that, during his occupancy of this see, he performed no episcopal act. He was not even enthroned; for in the same year, on the 17th of November, he was again translated, and sat as Bishop of London. Kemp's translation to London was the cause of a controversy between the chapter of St. Paul's and the see of Rome. The reader must be reminded of the manner in which episcopal appointments were at this time made; by a disregard to which, historical facts are sometimes misunderstood, if not misrepresented. The king claimed a right to nominate; the chapter claimed a right to elect; the pope claimed a right to provide. When the Government was strong

* Dallaway, ii. 68.

† Le Neve, iii. 303.

† Ang. Sac. i. 379.

§ Stubbs, 64.

the appointment virtually rested with the king, who, as now, accompanied the *congé d'élire* with a letter missive, nominating the clerk to be elected. The chapter elected the king's nominee. The act of the chapter was notified to the pope, who superseded the election, but, at the same time, provided the clerk whom the Crown had nominated. All parties seemed, by a legal fiction, to maintain their rights. The papist said the bishop was appointed by provision; the Anglican, by election; the Erastian, by the king. When the Government was weak, or not vigilant, there was an attempt, not unfrequently, on the part either of the pope or of the chapter, to set aside this tacit compact. It was the policy of Martin V., as we have seen, not so much to defy the Government as to make every national church dependent upon the pope. On the death of Richard Clifford,* therefore, he determined to supersede the rights of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's by a provision, which he knew would be acceptable

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* Richard Clifford had been chaplain to Richard II. In 1392 he obtained prebends at Salisbury and at Lincoln; at York, in 1395; at St. Paul's, in 1397; in 1405, at St. Stephen's, Westminster, and Southwell. He was also made Warden of Hastings, in 1396, and Archdeacon of Canterbury, a very lucrative appointment, in 1397. On the 26th of March, 1398, he was installed Dean of York. He was Lord Keeper in 1399. He was consecrated to the see of Worcester on the 9th of October, 1401, and was translated to London in 1407. On October 15th, 1414, he adopted an extreme measure, by superseding the Use of St. Paul's for the Use of Sarum; which became very nearly throughout England the book of Common Prayer. He was a delegate to the Council of Constance in 1416. He was sent as envoy to contract a marriage between the Emperor of Germany and the Princess Blanche. He died on the 20th of August, 1421, and was buried in St. Paul's.—Green's Worcester; Ang. Sac. i. 194, 536, 571; English Chron. xxix. 177.

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to the Government. It was a mere anticipation of the act of the Crown. On the death of Bishop Clifford, the dean and chapter, the king being abroad, proceeded to elect for their diocesan Thomas Polton, bishop of Hereford. The election took place in September 1421. But when it was notified to the pope, and when Polton's translation was postulated, the dean and chapter were informed that the pope had already provided for the see by the translation of John Kemp, bishop of Chichester, on the 17th of the preceding November; that is, before Polton's election.* This translation meeting with the full concurrence of the king, who had designed the appointment of Kemp, the dean and chapter had nothing to do but to submit. The whole proceeding was in contravention of the statutes of the realm; but the statutes slept, when those who ought to have enforced them were benefited by the illegal act. John, bishop of London, received his spirituals from the archbishop on the 20th of May, 1422; and his temporals from the king on the 20th of the following June.† On his appointment as a member of the king's council, which took place immediately after the accession of Henry VI., Kemp resigned the great seal of Normandy. He was sent, however, being at this time Bishop of London, in May 1423, with a letter from the Council, in the king's name, to the Duke of Bedford, regent of France. He was also commissioned, about this time, to thank the regent, in the name of the king, for his diligence and service in the government of France and Normandy. The Bishop of London, the late chancellor of Normandy, was sent to render him assistance, and he was accompanied by

* Wharton, 157.

† Acts of Privy Council, iii. 86.

the Earl Marshal and Lord Willoughby. The Duke of Exeter, who had been ill, would join the mission in all haste. The regent was requested to give credence to the Duke of Exeter and the bishop.* In February 1424, the bishop was sent to the Marches of Scotland, to treat for the release of the King of Scots. About a month before his translation to the see of York, Kemp was appointed to succeed Beaufort as Lord High Chancellor of England.

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The resignation of Beaufort was the result of a temporary arrangement made just before, between the contending parties of the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester ; and was perhaps connected with Beaufort's appointment to the cardinalate. This temporary reconciliation or truce between the contending factions was effected by the interposition and good offices of the Duke of Bedford ; who had returned to England and resumed the office of protector of the realm and chief councillor.†

Of the importance attached to the chancellorship we may form some notion, by adverting to the ceremonial by which the new chancellor was invested with the insignia of his office.

In March 1426, the Bishop of London was summoned to wait upon the king at Leicester, and he took up his abode at Leicester College. On the 14th of March, the Council assembled at Leicester Castle at

* Acts of Privy Council, iii. 137, contain a minute of Council, granting 80*l.* to be paid for the expenses of the Bishop of London, who was about to proceed to the Marches of Scotland, to treat for the release of the King of the Scots.

† Acts of Privy Council, iii. 196. The terms of reconciliation between the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester are to be found in English in the Acts of Privy Council, iii. 181 ; and a very important document this is.

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three o'clock in the afternoon; the Bishop of London being present. The lord protector produced a bag of white leather, out of which he drew the great seal, made of silver. The duke sealed some letters patent and writs of common law. He replaced the seal in the white leathern bag, and, carrying it himself, deposited it in the house of the Friars Preachers. On the 16th, the Bishop of London was required to wait on the king in the abbey of St. Mary de Pratis. The king was present, an infant, whose throne was his mother's lap. The Duke of Bedford entered with great state, carrying the silver seal; and, having made obeisance to the royal child, he placed it in his little hand. Directed by his mother, the child delivered the seal to the Bishop of London, who knelt before him and took the chancellor's oath; the new chancellor took it to Leicester College, and on the following day sealed some letters patent. On the 18th of March the parliament sat, and, in the presence of the lords and commons, the gold seal was placed in the hands of the Duke of Bedford: he, with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, delivered it to John, bishop of London.*

The new system or principle adopted by the Court of Rome did not settle readily into its place in England. Difficulties arose at the death of Henry Bowet, archbishop of York,† similar to those which Kemp

* Rot. Claus. 4 Henry VI. m. 8, indors. Rot. Parl. iv. 299.

† Henry Bowet. We first hear of this prelate as Archdeacon and Prebendary of Lincoln. He was installed on the 23d of February, 1386. The appointment was ratified on the 12th of May, 1386 (Rot. Parl. 9 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 15). He did not hold the preferment long. He is said to have had a prebend also in Wells Cathedral, and perhaps also in Hereford. We may trace him, through

had to encounter, when he was translated to the see of London. A *congé d'élire* was addressed to the dean and chapter of York by the Government, with a letter missive, requiring them to postulate Philip Morgan, bishop of Worcester. The mandate was readily obeyed, and on the 24th of January, 1426, the royal assent was given. Letters patent notified the election to the pope, and required the usual licence for a translation. It was universally admitted, that the divorce of a bishop from his diocese was dependent upon the grant of a papal dissolution of the original contract between the Church and her wedded lord. But Martin V., supposing the Government, during the minority, to be weaker than it really was, declined the usual compliance with the royal wish; and signified to the English government, that he had already provided for the archbishopric of York by translating to that see the Bishop of Lincoln,

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Le Neve, to other preferments. He travelled in France and Italy, and on his return home became Bishop of Bath and Lord Treasurer of England. His consecration took place at St. Paul's, on the 20th of November, 1401. On the 7th of October, 1407, he was translated to York. The temporalities were restored to him on the 1st of December following. He received his pall on the 27th of August, 1408, and was enthroned the December following (Reg. Eccl. Ebor.). He was celebrated for his hospitality. When we hear that his annual consumption of claret amounted to fourscore tuns, we may argue that the consumption was not small of bread and beef and mutton, to say nothing of Yorkshire ale. The Scotch having availed themselves of the absence of Henry V. in France to invade England, the metropolitan primate, in extreme old age, when he could neither ride nor walk, caused himself to be carried in a chair to the scene of action; and at the head of the English army so encouraged the men, that a victory was easily won. He died at Cawood, 20th October, 1423, and was buried at York. See Drake, 440; Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum*; Hardy's *Le Neve*.

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Richard Fleming. The Council acted with vigour. Instead of entering into a controversy with the pope, the Council gave notice to Fleming that he had already violated the laws of the realm, and had incurred the penalties of a *præmunire* ;* the enforcement of which he could only escape, by renouncing all pretensions to the see of York, and furthering the translation of the king's nominee.

The affair became a party matter in England. The Bishop of Worcester was nominated by the Duke of Gloucester's faction. The Bishop of Lincoln had been suggested to the pope by the Beaufort party. Neither the Government nor the pope were inclined to yield. At length, as a compromise, Kemp, bishop of London, was brought forward. I think that we can trace the whole course of the proceeding. The Government had a job in hand, or rather such was the case with its head ; it therefore agreed to accept Kemp, instead of Morgan, for the archbishopric, though he was a Beaufortite ; on condition that the cause of the Duke of Gloucester should be expedited with reference to his proposed marriage with Jacqueline of Hainault. Bishop Fleming was eager in the cause of the duke. Upon his success in influencing his party and the Court of Rome, his bill of indemnity to be introduced into the next parliament depended. All parties were satisfied. The Government carried its point for the Duke of Gloucester ; and if it conceded the point as to the translation of the Bishop of Worcester, and accepted Kemp the bishop of London, it strengthened its hands by insisting that William Gray, a staunch supporter of the Beaufort party, should be Kemp's

* Acts of Privy Council, iii. 211.

successor in London, and that Morgan should be translated to Ely. The pope also carried his point; he was permitted to translate Fleming back to the see of Lincoln, and, in doing so, he described that prelate as Archbishop of York. He thus insinuated a principle which, if broadly stated, would not have been tolerated. Kemp owned, that the pope had translated Fleming to York; and the Government, in its carelessness, having carried its immediate object, cared not to see the mischief of thus permitting the small end of the wedge to be inserted.

Kemp had proceeded to York to be enthroned. He went in great state, and appeared at the gates of the northern metropolis, attended by some of the leading men of his party, the Duke of York, and the lords Scrope, Lovel, and Cromwell. But his reception by the clergy was anything but flattering. They only yielded a sullen acquiescence in the arrangement, that forced a metropolitan upon them against their will. Extensive preparations were made by Kemp, to conduct the enthronement with more than usual magnificence and splendour. It is when we cannot depend upon the spontaneous exertions of the people, urged on by the enthusiasm of the moment, that minute attention is paid to the arrangements of a ceremonial, with the ordinary forms of which the officials are familiar. The ceremonial within the minster on this occasion, was so admirably conducted, that a description of it is preserved to the present day in the York Register. Silk copes were purchased for the members of the chapter, and the mitred abbots were present in their splendid attire. Of suffragans the Archbishop of York had at this time only two, Durham and Carlisle; of these only one was in attendance. When the archbishop waited for the clergy

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at the chapel of St. James's without the Wall, they appeared in dingy copes; and they escorted the archbishop to his cathedral without any of those cheers which alone infuse life into a ceremonial. The men of the north gave no welcome to a southern statesman, who came to draw his resources from a see on which he did not intend to reside.

Kemp retained the chancellorship for six years; he then retired on the plea of ill-health.* He resumed the office, as we shall have occasion hereafter to mention, in his old age, on the 31st of May, 1450; and retained it till his death.†

From the time of Edward III. the office of high chancellor had been changing in character and increasing in importance. Stafford, who was Kemp's predecessor in the see of Canterbury, and his successor as chancellor, was the first who is known to have been called "lord chancellor."‡ The Court had gradually obtained jurisdiction in civil cases, from the circumstance that petitions addressed to the king were referred to the chancellor and the master of the rolls. The business of the Court increased, of course, during a long minority.§ The salary of the chancellor was fixed at 200*l.* a year, to commence from the date of his appointment.|| Kemp, who was a careful, if not a grasping man, now bargained that he should receive the arrears of the salary of two hundred marks due to him as a member of the Council.¶ The salaries are stated in the minutes of Council, on the 10th of

* Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. VI. m. 8.

† The Earl of Salisbury succeeded ten days after Kemp's death, April 2, 1454.

‡ Rot. Parl. v. 103.

§ A special jurisdiction of the chancellor was established, though at first for special and defined purposes, by 36 Edw. III. stat. i. 49.

|| Acts of Privy Council, 212.

¶ Ibid. iii. 265.

July, 1424; and they were made to depend upon the rank of its members and their length of service. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester (Beaufort) received 300 marks, or 200*l.* a year; each bishop and earl, 200 marks, or 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; each baron and banneret and every esquire, 40*l.* From these sums were to be deducted fines, levied upon absentees without leave. They whose salary amounted to 200*l.* a year were fined for absence twenty shillings a day. Thirteen shillings were charged upon those who received 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and others were fined in proportion. These fixed payments, instead of incomes provided by employing ecclesiastics in the public service, and heaping preferments upon them, denote a change in public affairs, and the formation of new and distinct professions. Public men had hitherto regarded themselves as landed proprietors, holding their possessions on the condition of performing certain duties without emolument, when called upon by the sovereign to discharge them. A well-endowed ecclesiastic conducted an embassy chiefly at his own expense; having previously received high preferment, or having preferments heaped upon him to enable him properly to discharge his present employments. Henceforth public men began to regard themselves as public servants, receiving pay for work done. The lawyers were the first to take this less elevated view of the subject; and they were among the first to call upon the clergy to confine themselves to their proper functions. For some time, the two systems worked together; and even as late as the reign of Henry VIII. lay ambassadors complained of the hardships to which they were exposed from insufficient salaries. The ambassadors formerly were paid by the Church, not

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the State ; and when the State first provided the salaries, the complaints made by the statesmen employed in foreign service appeared to be unreasonable. The honour of the employment was thought sufficient. The ecclesiastics did not, on the other hand, perceive that by them salaries should have been refused ; or that, when the system of salaries was adopted, their services in state affairs were no longer required.

The old system still remained, and we have an instance before us. There was one John Dyelet, king's chaplain, who performed for the Council, those duties devolving upon officers at the present time to whom, by a misnomer, the title of clerk is prefixed. The chancellor thought that he might be of use in the same capacity to him, and proposed to take him into his service. As a retaining fee, he designed to give him a living. The Council took offence at this ; and, from a minute of Council in 1427, we find the chancellor promising not to present him to the living of Crookhorne without the Council's consent.

Upon the new chancellor soon devolved a duty equally difficult and delicate. The Council entertained a jealousy of the king's uncles, and imagined that the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, presuming on their royal birth, and their nearness to the Crown, aimed at more power than they could constitutionally claim. In the year 1427, when the Duke of Bedford was about to return to France, the Council declared, that this affair should be settled. The attack was, indeed, directly made upon the Duke of Bedford, but the person who was really the object of their fear was the Duke of Gloucester. It is very probable, at least so it appears to us, that there was a previous understanding between Bedford and the Council, the majority

of whom at the time were followers of the Beaufort party.

The Council met in the Star Chamber, one of the apartments of the royal palace at Westminster. Willing to show its authority, it required the attendance of the Duke of Bedford ; and he, desirous of proving his humility, obeyed the summons. He was in his place on the 28th of January, when the chancellor addressed him. He assured the duke, that there was no wish or intention, on the part of the Council, to diminish or to withdraw any worship or estate inherited or acquired by the duke, whose worship and estate they desired rather to augment. After these and similar compliments, the chancellor came to the point ; and laid down the law, that, although all sovereign power rested in the king, yet, the king being under age, that power devolved not on any single person, but equally upon all the lords of the Council, acting in concert—except in some special cases, when exceptional authority was given, by act of parliament, to the Duke of Bedford, and, in his absence, to the Duke of Gloucester. He then stated the determination of the Council to throw up their commission, unless they were free to govern according to the authority they had received for the king's behoof, the public good of his realm, and the execution of his laws. He concluded with apologizing, in terms of much courtesy and respect, for having summoned the duke to attend. This, he said, the Council had done, not in their own names, but in the name of "our sovereign lord the king."

Nothing could be more courteous, on the other hand, than the conduct of the Duke of Bedford. He thanked God for giving the king so wise a council. The king was his sovereign lord, to whose laws, as

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the king's liegeman, he was subject. Although he stood in the nearest relation to the king, yet he declared his readiness to be "demesned and ruled by the lords of the Council," as much as the least and poorest subject of the land. "If at any time he did, or attempted, or was disposed to attempt or do contrariwise, he would at all times, with as good haste and will, be reformed and amended by them as man should." He made oath to that effect, laying his hand upon the New Testament, which lay on the table.

The Duke of Bedford, the memorandum informs us, wept while he spake, and the lords of the Council wept when they heard him speak.

The movement, as we have said, was really directed against the Duke of Gloucester, who, having been also summoned to the council, pleaded illness as an excuse for his non-attendance. The Council was not to be deterred by this, but waited upon the Duke of Gloucester at his inn. Their reception here was not so gracious ; and there was less of courtesy in the address of the chancellor. The chancellor complained of certain answers given by the Duke of Gloucester, to overtures made to him from the Council through the Duke of Bedford. The Duke of Gloucester now replied, that he would be accountable to no one for his conduct, except the king when he should come of age. As to the Duke of Bedford, "let him do," he said, "as he will, while he is in the land ; but after his going into France, I will govern as seemeth me good." He evidently treated the affair as a party manœuvre.

The chancellor stated to the Duke of Gloucester the promises of submission made to the Council by his royal brother. Gloucester, fearing probably that the next step of the Council would be to petition Bedford to

remain in England, immediately changed his tone. He professed his readiness to submit to the Council, and added that, notwithstanding anything he may have said before, it had not been his intention to do otherwise than to be governed by the king's authority, exercised by the Council.*

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On the 13th of October, 1427, the parliament met at Westminster. There, in the Painted Chamber, the child, who represented the sovereignty of England, was seated on the throne.

The Archbishop of York, as Lord Chancellor, opened the proceedings, taking his text from Maccabees iv. 6: "For he saw that it was impossible that the state should continue quiet . . . unless the king did look thereunto." He enlarged on the duty of rulers to their subjects, and that of subjects to their rulers. The duty of rulers—*superiorum*—was to defend their subjects from foreign invasion, to preserve the peace of the realm, and to make provision for the administration of justice. The duty of subjects was to provide the means for the defence of the country; to preserve the peace of the realm by loyalty to their rulers; and by obedience to the laws. All which the better to accomplish the king had convened the present parliament; his object being to concede to the Church of England, and to the prelates, lords and commons, one and all, the liberties and privileges, all and singular, which had been granted by the king's noble progenitors. He

* There are two reports of these interviews, agreeing in substance, though differing in detail. Of the first of these reports there are two copies, one in the Cott. MS. Cleopatra F. iv., and the other in Cott. MS. Titus, E. v. 6, 137. There is another and fuller copy in the Acts of Privy Council, iii. 237. I have given the brief narrative above from a comparison of the different statements.

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recalled none, nor had he, indeed, power by the law of England to recall them. In accordance with those rights and liberties, the chancellor directed that, for the dispatch of business, the commons should repair to their common-house, and there elect their speaker to be presented on the morrow to the king.*

On reference to the rolls of parliament the reader will find, that several important measures were adopted for the internal government of the country; some of which must have been suggested by the chancellor, and all of which must have had his concurrence. Some had reference to the correction of certain abuses which had arisen in the administration of justice, and for the reform of the courts of law. A measure was adopted for parliamentary reform, rendered necessary by the false returns of which the returning officers were frequently guilty. We may here mention, that in the parliament of 1429, the law was made which required that knights of the shire should be possessed of land and tenements of forty shillings by the year, at the least,—a regulation occasioned by the riotous proceedings which had lately occurred at some elections. This regulation shows a further advance in public opinion. In the reign of Edward I. it was difficult to procure members to serve in parliament; to obtain a seat in which had now become an object of ambition.† In the parliament of 1437, and in subsequent parliaments, sanitary measures came also for discussion before the members. It was ordained that a Commission of Sewers should be issued by the Chancellor of England. The commissioners were to visit different parts of the country, for the purpose of seeing that the wells, ditches,

* Parl. Rolls, iv. 316.

† Rot. Parl. iv. 350.

gutters, bridges, and weirs, be repaired or cleansed, and that precautions be taken against the inundations which had of late frequently occurred. The commission was to continue in force for ten years. Acts were also passed for the better conservation and navigation of the Thames and smaller rivers.* Measures were moreover adopted, during the time that the great seal was in the custody of Archbishop Kemp, for the better regulation of weights and measures. Each city and borough was to have, at its proper charge, and in custody of the mayor or constable, balances and weights sealed according to the standard of the Exchequer.†

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It is not my intention to lay before the reader all the proceedings of the ministry in which Archbishop Kemp held a prominent place; but these are mentioned to refute a notion which too commonly prevails, that, at this period, nothing but war was thought worthy of consideration, and that legislation had no object beyond that of raising money. The truth is, that the modern civilization was now dawning on the minds of the statesmen, the progress of which was scarcely retarded by the wars of the Roses. Its influence is perceptible especially on the mind of Kemp. He was an unpopular minister, from his desire to make peace with France; but he had come to the conclusion at which some others among his contemporaries had arrived, that peace was necessary, if the real happiness of the country was to be promoted.

This was, it should be borne in mind, the policy of the Beaufort party; and the appointment of Kemp to be the chancellor was a proof that this party had

* Rot. Parl. iv. 333.

† Ibid. iv. 349.

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increased in strength. Beaufort had yielded the semblance of power to grasp the reality. The Duke of Gloucester, the advocate for a continuance of the war, had suffered a virtual defeat. He had aspired to become protector or regent, with full regal power; and assuming the fact that he was regent, he had demanded of this parliament what his powers were. The parliament reminded him that when, at the commencement of the reign, he had claimed the title of Protector, it had been decided by the three estates of the realm—the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, and the commons—that his claim was groundless and without precedent; that, even supposing his appointment as regent under the late king's will, yet the king could not by will alter or abrogate the law of the land, without the consent first obtained of the three estates. Nevertheless, for the sake of peace, and from a willingness to gratify the duke, it was ordained, by the authority of the king, the three estates assenting, that he should, in the absence of the Duke of Bedford, be called protector and defender of the realm; premising always that the title imported only a personal duty of attendance, in the event of invasion or rebellion. It was declared, that the title did not imply any such authority as that which pertained to lieutenant-governors or regents, strictly so called. It was conceded that, as principal adviser of the Crown, he should in the Council have the precedence; but in parliament it was declared that he was to have no higher place than that of Duke of Gloucester. The document concludes with an entreaty, couched in courteous and respectful terms, that he will be contented with the powers thus conceded to him, and which had satisfied the king's eldest uncle, the Duke of Bedford. At all events, he had their decision, and they

called upon him to attend the parliament then sitting
 “lyk as of right ye owe to do.”*

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Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was a man utterly void of principle, both in domestic life and in the affairs of state. Nevertheless, he obtained the title of the “good Duke Humphrey,” because he took the popular side and advocated the war, to which his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, was opposed. The extreme denunciation of Cardinal Beaufort is as unjust as is the glorification, also in the extreme, of the Duke of Gloucester. Both were men who were led on by ambition to do bad things: but while the duke never sacrificed a passion or a caprice for the public good, the cardinal was certainly a benefactor to the Church. But the duke was the vehement asserter of the independence of his country; while the cardinal, aiming at the papal throne, was the representative of the Roman interest in this realm, which was felt to be aggressive; though the modern policy and aim of Martin V. was not, at this time, clearly perceived in England. While the people, intoxicated by the military glories of the late king, were writhing under the losses sustained at this period in France, Cardinal Beaufort, resisting public opinion, was known to be favourable to peace. This, in conjunction with his Roman tendencies, induced the people to regard him as a traitor, and to overlook the noble use to which, in his later years, he applied the wealth he had accumulated. The Duke of Gloucester was open-handed, and spent his fortune in princely style: while the cardinal, aware that more fortunes are saved than made—although, like other misers, he could and did act liberally on great occasions—incurred the odium

* Rot. Parl. iv. 327.

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which attaches to a wealthy man when looking minutely after those little gains which, though really peculations, his underlings regard as their legitimate perquisites.

By the good management of Kemp, as well as by a want of wisdom on the part of Duke Humphrey, the way was prepared for the return of Beaufort, now known as the Cardinal of England. It was a question how far, after accepting an appointment which legally subjected him to the penalties of a *præmunire*, he ought to be received by the people or treated by the Government. Had his enemies been sufficiently strong, he would have been impeached. But a reaction had taken place in his favour, and on his return to England in September, 1429, he was met in triumph by the Lord Mayor and a vast concourse of people. The Londoners went out of their way to do him honour, attending beyond the city boundaries, and escorting him to his palace at Southwark.

The parliament which met on the 22d of September, 1429, was opened by Archbishop Kemp as Lord Chancellor, the young king being present in the Painted Chamber, seated on a chair of state. The chancellor, as usual, spoke from a text. The reader has been supplied with so many examples of the strange manner in which such texts were divided and subdivided, that I forbear from giving the chancellor's exposition of Luke xi. 18, as I find it in the rolls of parliament. We shall come at once to the business part of his speech, which had reference, as usual, to the money question. He observed that as princes were bound, in justice, to preserve their realm and subjects from foreign aggression, and to preserve peace and security at home—so the subjects were in justice bound to tax them-

selves, to enable their prince to obtain these objects, if his private resources were insufficient.*

The Beaufort party, with Kemp at its head, was now in the ascendant. The commons unanimously joined in a petition to the king in the cardinal's behalf. They referred to the many and notable services done by him to the Crown, both in the present king's reign and in that of his father. They prayed the king, therefore, to grant him a full pardon for any transgression of the laws, of which, in accepting the cardinalate, he might have been guilty; particularly in regard to the statute of *præmunire*. The petition was granted, and Beaufort was protected against all prosecutions. He was re-appointed a member of the Council, with an understanding that he should absent himself from all affairs and councils in which the interests of the pope or the see of Rome were in question.†

Another measure was taken in this parliament, which was chiefly designed to mortify the Duke of Gloucester. The king being now in his ninth year, it was declared that Henry VI. had showed such a "toward pregnancy of wit and parts" that it became the duty of the Council to admit him, as it were, to his first regal dignity by a coronation. To this, of course, it would have been impolitic on the part of the Gloucester party to have offered any opposition; for the people regarded the child of Henry V. with a loyal enthusiasm, that was, in truth, his great protection from lawless violence on the part of his uncles. But the object of the party of which Kemp was the prime minister soon became apparent. A motion was made in the House of Lords, to the effect that, since the king (a child of nine years

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* Rot. Parl. iv. 335.

† Ibid. iv. 338.

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of age) had taken upon himself, by his coronation, the protection and defence of the realm, the name and power of Protector granted to the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester had ceased ; and the two royal dukes were henceforth to be contented with the title of Principal Counsellors.

The chancellor endeavoured to conciliate the clergy, who were by no means satisfied with the proceedings of the Government with respect to Rome, and who viewed with jealousy the residence of a cardinal in England. He caused it to be enacted in this parliament, that the clergy attending convocation should possess the same freedom from arrest, with reference to themselves and their servants, as those which pertained to members of parliament.

Kemp did not suffer his mind to be absorbed in the great affairs coming directly under his cognizance and administration ; but, like other men who have risen to eminence, he attended to every minute detail pertaining to his office, and could devote his attention to the little things never despised by a true philosopher. We have an instance of this, in the regulations made for the management and comfort of the children of the chapels royal. To the chancellor the management of the chapel royal belonged ; and the following orders being suggested to Kemp, were by him examined and confirmed. Every child was to have a gown, a hood and a doublet, two pair of linen clothes, two pair of hosen and three pair of shoes. In bedding, to adopt the original terms, there were to be "two schylders, one contour and testour, one payr of blankets, two payr schetys, one paylet, and one canvas." *

* Acts of Privy Council, iii. 104. In dorso. xv° die Junii anno

Of his care for the royal chapel we have another instance in the year 1430 ; when he procured an order of the Privy Council, directing the treasurer of the king's household to pay to the clerks of the king's chapel, for arrears of wages, £107 10s. out of moneys delivered to him for the king's use abroad.* He was also required to repay the cardinal (always looking after every debt) the sum of £21, which he had himself advanced to the clerks of the chapel.

In 1431, Kemp, though still chancellor, was unable, through indisposition, to open the parliament, which met on the 12th of January. His place was supplied by Lyndwood. The archbishop, on this occasion, consulted John Somerset, the royal physician.† His illness was not severe, and did not last long ; and as he was soon after actively employed in the public service, we may suspect that the illness had something to do with politics. Certain it is, that in 1431 the Duke of Gloucester had regained his ascendancy ; and, as a consequence, on the 5th of February, 1432, Archbishop Kemp resigned the great seal—or rather the seals—of office. At four o'clock on the afternoon of that day, the archbishop appeared in the council cham-

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primo apud Westm. concessum fuit quod fiat warrant. custodi garde-robæ domini Regis de liberando personis infrascriptis parcelas infra contentas. Præsentibus dominis Duce Glouc.; Wynt. et Wigorn. Episcopis, Dominis de Fitzhugh, de Bourchier, et de Cromewell. Canc. Thes. et Custode privati sigilli.

* Acts of Privy Council, iv. 39.

† The physician, like the gentlemen of the choir, had found it difficult to obtain his salary as a member of the royal household ; for we find him, in 1428, petitioning the king for an annuity of 40% out of the issues of the city of London, and such vestments, fees, and linen as the royal physicians were accustomed to receive.—Acts of Privy Council, iii. 287.

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ber, "next to the great chamber of parliament." He carried with him, in two bags of white leather, sealed with his private seal—*in duobus baggis de albo corio*—the gold and the silver seals. He delivered them to the king, or rather, in the presence of the king, to the Duke of Gloucester, who immediately took possession of them, and kept them till the next day.*

The attention of the country was at this time called to the Council of Basle, which had assembled on the 23d of June, 1431. The convention of this synod was a concession to public opinion, being the last act of Martin V., and its continuation the first act of Eugenius IV. In compliance with a resolution passed at Constance, a council had met at Pavia in 1423, but after a few sessions it was transferred by Martin to Siena; and then it was dissolved, under the pretext that it did not command the sympathy of the Church. This proceeding, however, had given such general dissatisfaction, that Martin had at length consented to convene a new council to meet at Basle. Over this council his successor, Eugenius IV., appointed Julianus Cesarini, who had been designated to the office by Pope Martin, to preside. We may here remark, that this council took from the first an independent position, and reiterated the principle so strongly maintained at the Council of Constance, of the absolute authority of a general council. The pope, therefore, to overawe the members, transferred the council to Bologna. He did so under the pretext that the Eastern Church, to effect a union with which—for we must remember that the Church was not one and undivided, any more than now—was one of the professed objects of the council prepared to meet in an Italian town. After various

* *Fœdera*, iv. 176.

fruitless negotiations between the promoters of the council and the pope, Eugenius formally dissolved the council in 1433. The fathers assembled at Basle, however, disputing the pope's authority to adjourn, to remove, or to dictate to a council, continued their deliberations. The pope was obliged in 1434, for political reasons, again to recognise the validity of their proceedings. But when the Council began to adopt measures of reform, and to assert, that the pope was amenable to their control, Eugenius transferred the council first to Ferrara, and then to Florence. The Council of Basle, nevertheless, in spite of the pope, continued to sit; and elected Cardinal d'Allemand, archbishop of Arles, as the president. The fathers of this council were supported by the University of Paris. The pope excommunicated the Council, and the Council, in 1439, deposed the pope. An anti-pope was chosen, Felix V. But Europe had no desire to be involved in a new schism in regard to the papacy; and the authority of Felix found scarcely anywhere a recognition. There was evidently a feeling that the reformation, to be effectual, must go deeper. The council itself soon ceased to be attended except by a few enthusiasts, or persons merely seeking notoriety. Its members, one after another, sent in their adhesion to Eugenius; whose successor, Nicolas V., was universally received as the pope. Thus the great principle of Martin V. and of modern Romanism became, by the opposition, more fully established. The councils had declared the pope to be in fact, what he professed to be in theory, the servant of the Church, whom the Church might command, and, on his disobedience, depose. The councils were defeated; and over the old system the Pope of Rome triumphed. The pope had,

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until the fifteenth century, been called *primus inter pares*; he now styled himself the Universal Bishop.

Since the return of the pope to Rome the anti-papal feeling had been modified in England; while in France a dislike to the Court and Church of Rome had sprung up among the people. The French were pledged to support the Council against the pope; and consequently the inclination in England was to support the pope against the council. The Beaufort party accordingly was again in the ascendant, and to represent the church and realm of England at the Council of Basle, the Archbishop of York was selected. So early as the year 1433 his credentials were prepared, at which period the rupture between Eugenius and the Council commenced. The Archbishop of York's was therefore to be a mission of conciliation; and we possess a letter of his to the council, which is worthy of being perused by those who take an interest in original documents. It is not published by Ellis, and, so far as I know, it has not been printed. It is too long for transcription here. It is addressed "To the Most Reverend Fathers in Christ, the illustrious Princes, the noble Lords, and eminent men assembled in the Holy Spirit to constitute the sacred Council of Basle on behalf of the Church Catholic, by John, the unworthy servant of this Church of York." Having received the mandate of the Council with all filial devotion and humility, he accepted with joy the declaration of the Council, that it was convened to root out heresy and error, to remove wholly evil manners and vice, and to restore peace; in a word, to compass that reformation of the Catholic Church which was required. He urged expedition in their proceedings, since, without a speedy reformation, the fall of the whole estate and hierarchy

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of the Church was imminent. The dangers with which the Church was beset, and the difficulties of a reformation, had long been foreseen, and these had plainly shown that we must look for guidance to Him whose promises of support are our grounds of confidence. The opinion of himself and his suffragans concurring with that of the Council on the desirability of the present proceeding; they had determined, either in person or by their proctors, to wait upon their serene highnesses, the fathers of the Council; and for so doing they had obtained the consent of the king, and the estates of the realm. The letter is verbose, and concludes thus: "He who made us vouchsafe to prevent you in all your work for Him; further it according to your desires, direct it to a happy effect and issue, of His great goodness. Signed, John of York, of your sacred council the most humble orator aforesaid."*

Although the archbishop was thus prepared to start in 1433, a delay was occasioned by what we should call a change in the ministry,—certainly a change in the policy of the country. The country was still so adverse to a peace with France, that the Gloucester party came again into power. The passport for the archbishop was made out in February, 1433;† and he obtained permission to take with him silver and gold to the amount of £2,000, together with plate to the amount of a thousand marks. But in the following

* The letter is to be found in Harl. MS. 826, f. 156. The orthography, writing, and grammar in the original are difficult. The date of the year is not given. But the probability that it was written at a time when the licence to go to Basle was suspended, is confirmed by its being dated July, the very month when that event occurred.

† The passport may be seen in the *Fœdera*, iv. 189. It was drawn up in the form still in use.

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July, the passport was cancelled, and the licence was withdrawn. A thousand pounds had been advanced by the Council towards defraying the archbishop's expenses, and this money he refunded. The Council voted that it should be expended in the siege of St. Valery.* So things continued till 1435, when it was impossible any longer to resist the proposal of the Emperor, that at the congress of European powers assembled at the council, both England and France should send ambassadors, with a view of establishing friendly relations between the two nations.

The English, as usual, depended more upon the skilful expenditure of money than upon their skill in diplomacy: *necesse est facere sumptum qui quærit lucrum*. Four hundred ducats were accordingly placed at the disposal of the ambassadors, for the retention of advocates in the king's behalf.† After the arrival of the ambassadors at Basle, a further sum of a thousand marks was assigned to them, to be used at their discretion, for the king's honour and advantage.‡

The archbishop's mission to Basle was purely political; and in politics all that was done was, the appointment of a conference of the leading powers of Europe, to devise the terms and to adopt the measures for effecting a general pacification. The conference was to meet at Arras.

Upon this embassy Archbishop Kemp was appointed to serve on the 20th of June, 1435. He had permission on this occasion to carry with him gold, silver, jewels, plate, and furniture, to the value of three millions of marks.§

* Acts of Privy Council, iv. 168.

† Ibid. iv. 217.

‡ Ibid. iv. 289.

§ Feodera, v. 1, 18. In the Acts of the Privy Council, iv. 302, we

At Arras the English embassy arrived before the Duke of Burgundy ; in order that they might have a preliminary meeting with his council. They made a splendid appearance. At the head of two hundred knights, accompanied by the Earl of Suffolk, the Bishop of St. David's, Sir John Ratcliff (Lord Privy Seal), and Lord Hungerford, appeared the Archbishop of York, attended by Master Raoul le Saige, official to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other ecclesiastics. Nothing could exceed the cordiality of the Burgundians. They evinced every mark of respect to the representatives of the majesty of England. When, therefore, on the 28th of July, the Duke of Burgundy himself arrived before Arras, the English embassy formed part of the procession which went forth to bid him welcome.* But their suspicions were excited, and no little disgust was felt, at the reception given by our ally the Duke of Burgundy to the ambassadors of "our adversary," Charles of France. The English, of course, remained in their quarters when the approach of the French was

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have a schedule, stating the amount of property each ambassador was permitted to take with him. This is interesting, as showing the different state each person was expected to sustain :—

Dominus Cardinalis ad summam et	
valorem	x. m ^l marc.
Archiepiscopus Eboracensis	iiij. m ^l marc.
Episcopus Norwicensis	ij. m ^l marc.
Episcopus Menevensis	j. m ^l marc.
Comes Suff.	iiij. m ^l marc.
Comes Moretan	ij. m ^l marc.
Dominus de Hungerford	ij. m ^l marc.

* Monstrelet, ii. 2. Monstrelet's description of what occurred on this occasion is as interesting as a romance. The charm of Monstrelet and Froissart is, that they enter upon details passed over by the other chroniclers.

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announced. Not so the Duke of Burgundy: he was among the first to bid them welcome. He was so marked in his attention to those who were at this time avowedly his enemies, as well as ours; that, to prevent any misunderstanding, the archbishop and the English embassy determined, until the arrival of Cardinal Beaufort, to take up their abode without the walls of the city. When, on the 19th of August, Beaufort did arrive, the English embassy was completed, and he was received with royal honours, entering the city with almost regal state. Upon a gathering of the chivalry of Europe, it was natural, that the first days of the congress should be devoted to jousts, tournaments, mysteries, and feasts. The time, however, was not wasted by the French. With the Duke of Bourbon at their head, they cemented the amicable relations with the Duke of Burgundy which had originated at Basle.

When business commenced, the archbishop at once perceived, what he had before surmised, that no impartial hearing could be obtained for the English. The Duke of Burgundy was nominally an ally; and as such was associated with the English embassy; but upon him no reliance could be placed. The ministers of the duke, together with the representative of the pope, Cardinal Santa Croce, had been won to the side of the French. Although the archbishop and the members of the English embassy represented the peace party in England; yet they were well aware that the party represented by them was in a minority. The English people would not tolerate the large concessions demanded "by our adversary of France;" though, after the recent successes of the French arms, these demands were declared to be reasonable by the authorities, both

of Burgundy and of Rome. The proposal made by the archbishop in the name of England, had relation simply to a family alliance, to be effected by the marriage of Henry VI. with the eldest or any other of the daughters of Charles of Valois. The discussions became so violent, that a breach of the peace was feared, and the town was patrolled, day and night. There was a body guard of one hundred gentlemen and two hundred archers, all ready armed, and prepared for action at a signal to be given by the duke.*

English patience was at length exhausted, and leaving Arras, the ambassadors passed through Calais and sailed for England, declaring, everywhere, against the perfidy of the Duke of Burgundy. They quitted the congress on the 6th of September. It was with indescribable indignation that the people of England heard, soon after, that a treaty of alliance had been signed by the Burgundian on the one side, and by Charles of Valois on the other.

Although the Archbishop of York was regular in his attendance at the council board, and diligent in promoting the interests of his party; yet, after the mortification to which he had been subjected at Arras, nothing of importance occurred in his political career between the years 1435 and 1439. The year last named, however, was one memorable in his history.

He was at this time again in France at the head of an embassy to negotiate a peace, or at least a truce for many years. Cardinal Beaufort on the one side, and the Duchess of Burgundy on the other, were appointed mediators. They were in fact plenipotentiaries, before whom and under whose directions the ambassadors from Henry and from Charles were to argue their

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* Monstrelet, ii. 4.

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cause respectively, and submit their proposals. At the head of the English embassy, appeared the Archbishop of York, with whom was associated the Duke of Norfolk, together with a long list of nobles, prelates, lawyers, and canonists, whom it is not necessary to mention. The secretary was Dr. Thomas Beckington, who kept a minute journal of the proceedings—a contemporary document of much interest and importance.*

The ambassadors, empowered to treat with “the adversary of France, or his ambassadors, for a final cessation of hostilities,” landed at Calais on the 26th of June, 1439. On Sunday, the 28th of June, notice was received that the French embassy, at the head of which were the Count de Vendôme and the Archbishop of Rheims, was on the road to Calais. The Archbishop of York, with the Earl of Stafford and the leading members of the English embassy, went forth to meet them, and conducted them to Calais in great state. On the following day, the members of the two embassies were invited to dine with the Archbishop of York at ten o’clock. The invitation was accepted by all except the Count de Vendôme, who excused himself because on that day he, *ut dicebatur*, kept a fast. The party supped with the Earl of Stafford.

It was left to the cardinal and the duchess, to name the day of the convention, and to determine on the form and order of the proceedings. The Duke of Orleans, being at that time a prisoner of the English,

* Of this Journal there are in the British Museum three contemporary copies. Harleian MSS. 861 and 4,763 ; and the Cottonian MS. Tiberius, B. xii. The latter is so much injured by the fire as to be almost illegible. The MSS. have been collated by Sir Harris Nicolas, and the variations have been noted.

permission was asked and granted for the French to have communication with him.

The arrangements for the conference were made on a scale of great magnificence, and were not completed before the 6th of July. A splendid diplomatic encampment was formed; and tents were pitched on the road to Gravelines about seven miles from Calais, and one from the Castle of Oye. Two pavilions were erected, each to be occupied by a descendant of John of Gaunt.* Towards the south-west of the cardinal's pavilion stood the tent of the Archbishop of York. The tent of conference was situated midway between the pavilion of Beaufort and that of the duchess. The conference was to be here opened on the morning of Monday, the 6th of July. So little confidence could either party, in those days, place in the honour of the other, that precautions were openly taken, on both sides, against treachery or surprise.

On Monday, at six o'clock, the members of the English legation quitted Calais, leaving behind them a sufficient number of troops for the protection of that town, and of our illustrious prisoner the Duke of Orleans. At eight o'clock, they arrived at the place of convention, and found refreshments prepared for them in the cardinal's pavilion. The cardinal himself was not

* Isabella, duchess of Burgundy, was the daughter of John, king of Portugal, by Philippa, sister of Henry IV. king of England. She was, consequently, niece to the cardinal. Beaufort, on this occasion, made a great display of magnificence. The duchess affected much simplicity, and, while arranging everything for her comfort, seemed to disregard all outward show. This provoked the contempt of Beckington, though probably it was a humility aped by pride. Beaufort, although legitimated, evinced the jealousy felt by one who, in spite of advantages conceded to him, is not quite certain of his position.

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present, having found it convenient to fast that day, in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the festival of whose translation was on the morrow.

The Duchess of Burgundy did not arrive till ten o'clock. She was accompanied by her niece, the Princess of Navarre, daughter of the Duke of Cleves, and was attended by ten ladies splendidly attired in cloth of gold.

The cardinal met her midway between the tents; and the uncle and niece embraced. He gallantly conducted the ladies into the tent, the ambassadors following, each in the order of his rank. On a large sofa, covered with cloth of gold, he placed the duchess and the Princess of Navarre, and seated himself between them.

Then advanced the Archbishop of York, and he delivered himself of a speech, of which the secretary of legation predicated that eloquence, which is conventionally assigned to all diplomatic orations. It simply consisted of a eulogy upon the cardinal and the duchess, for their zeal in promoting the cause of peace. After this he produced the commission from the Government under which he and his noble associates acted, and he concluded by calling upon the French ambassadors to lay their credentials also before the convention. This was accordingly done.

No other business was on this day transacted, and the archbishop returned to Calais. The next morning he attended divine service in the church of St. Nicolas. Immediately afterwards a despatch arrived from Cardinal Beaufort. The cardinal complained, that he had been disturbed at dinner by a visit from the Bishop of Tournay, who came to express the indignation of the French embassy at the terms employed in the English commission.

They refused to proceed further in the negotiation. The archbishop and the ambassadors of the King of England were perplexed how to act. The King of England claimed to be the King of France; if he addressed Charles of Valois as King of France, he would concede the whole subject of the controversy, and declare himself a pretender. It had been customary for the English to speak of their opponent as "our adversary of France;" but when there was a real desire to negotiate a peace between the two nations, it was supposed, that this term might give unnecessary offence, and as a conciliatory measure "our adversary" was spoken of simply as Charles of Valois.

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The French now contended, that this mode of describing their master was more offensive than the former. The truth, however, was that the French were now in a position very different from that which they had formerly occupied. Their successes made them, we might almost say insolent in their demands, although in their insolence they were to a certain extent to be justified. They went further; they were not contending for a mere form. They said that Charles, under whatever title he was addressed, was called upon to surrender the crown and realm of France, as of right belonging to the King of England. Here was a dilemma. If the King of England addressed Charles as the King of France, the King of England placed himself in the position of a pretender. If Charles did not protest against Henry's assumption of the title, then Charles admitted that the crown of France was not his of right. But this should have been thought of, before the parties met. To settle this very question was the purport of the present assembly. The Duchess of

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Burgundy remarked that all this ought to have been included in the secret instructions; and that, in calling himself King of France, Henry begged the very question in dispute. Complaint was made on either side, that the ambassadors had not sufficient powers.

It was agreed, therefore, between the cardinal and the Bishop of Tournay, that new commissions should be made out. Drafts of the commissions were forwarded to Calais, to be revised under the legal eye of the Archbishop of York. He employed himself that night, in correcting the minutes, and in putting them into shape. On Wednesday, the 8th of July, he directed his clerks, while he was at church, to make certain corrections in the documents which he had prepared. They, we are told, while performing this duty, amused themselves with correcting the grammar and spelling of the Bishop of Tournay. But the extraordinary part of the proceeding, which shows that Kemp was not troubled with a very scrupulous conscience, was this; that, to save time, he actually proposed to antedate the document—to give to the new commission the date of the original document to which only the royal signature was attached. When the archbishop had matured his plans—after dinner, or, as we should say, after breakfast—he proceeded to the pavilion of Cardinal Beaufort, and there had an interview with the French ambassadors. To the proposed arrangements the latter very reluctantly acceded. The English commission, which was drawn up on the 8th of July, was dated the 23d of May, the day when the document it superseded was signed. The French commission was also antedated, the date given being that of the 7th of April.

On the 10th of July, the convention resumed its

sitting. On that day the English ambassadors went again, with the Archbishop of York at their head, from Calais, to the place of meeting. They were joined by the cardinal, and met the French procession, headed by the Duchess of Burgundy. The cardinal and the duchess again embraced, and resumed their places on the chair or sofa of state. The commissions, as corrected, were entered upon the Journal. Then the Archbishop of York rose to address the assembly, and most astonishing to our minds does his address appear. He took for his text the words alleged, in the Revelations of St. Bridget, as having been uttered by our Lord to the Virgin Mary.*

“If the kings of France and England wish to have peace, I will give to them perpetual peace, considering this, how by means of justice this peace may be ensured. Since peace and justice are two sisters, one of which is not to be obtained without the other, as it is written, ‘Justice and peace have kissed each other.’” The first article of instruction deduced by the archbishop was, if the French adversary will attend to the

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* This was not St. Bridget or St. Bride, the Irish saint, to whose honour several churches in England are dedicated—for example, St. Bride’s, Fleet-street. She was a princess of the royal house of Sweden. Her Revelations were at this time popular, having been approved by the Council of Basle. She founded a monastic order remarkable for having revived the double monasteries, of which we have spoken in the first volume of this work. There were monks, or rather friars, as well as nuns in the same institution, though of course living apart; the men were subject to the prioress of the nuns in temporals, but in spirituals the women were under the jurisdiction of the friars. There was only one monastery of this order in England, that of Sion House, near London, founded by Henry V. in 1413, in consequence, probably, of Bridget’s prophecy.—Britton; Dugdale; Stevens; Tanner.

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things belonging to justice, he will permit our lord the king freely, peacefully, and quietly to enjoy his realm and crown in France, and the possession of the same. Before, however, he came to this article, he made a protestation, that it was not his intention to place in disputation, or to reconsider as doubtful, the right or title which the king had to the realm and crown of France. He held them immediately from God, and recognised in this respect no superior on earth. This, he contended, was sufficiently well known throughout the world; and had been frequently manifested and declared by divine justice, in the many and mighty wars on this account undertaken. In these, God being the Judge, the victory had always fallen on the side of the king. He added, that, according to the book of St. Bridget containing her revelations, when the kingdom of France became truly humble, the kingdom itself would come to the lawful heir. He mentioned, also, the general confirmation of peace made by the Church, and sworn to by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the cities and towns of France. He concluded with stating that, if "the adversary" made the proper concessions, it might be hoped that the king would not be inhuman or ungrateful, but, being mindful of the nearness of blood by which they were allied, would make such provision that contentment would properly ensue.*

We can only account for this extraordinary discourse by supposing, that the prediction of St. Bridget was universally accepted as a revelation from God; a fact which is proved, so far as England is concerned, by the foundation of Sion House by Henry V. The

* Acts of Privy Council, v. 352.

French did not deny the truth of St. Bridget's prophecy, but produced another prediction from a prophet of their own. They retired for a brief space to consider their reply, which was delivered by the Archbishop of Rheims. He adroitly adopted the argument of the Archbishop of York; and, having asserted the right of Charles to the throne of France, appealed to the recent victories which had attended his arms, as a proof that, whatever may have been the case in times past, the divine favour was now on his side. This, indeed, was only to be expected, because another prophet, John the Hermit, had declared that, although for her sins, France should be afflicted by the English, the French should expel them from the kingdom. He added, that he could not conclude a general peace, on account of the illness of the king and the absence of the dauphin.

The Archbishop of York, having consulted with the other members of the legation, made a temperate reply. It is amusing to find him remarking, that the Archbishop of Rheims could not be in earnest, when he put the prophecies of John the Hermit on a level with the Revelations of St. Bridget. Having said this in passing, he inquired of the French whether they had any proposals to make. The reply was, that the proposals ought to come from the English; but when the archbishop laid before the convention the instructions he had received from home, it soon appeared, that the French, elated by their late successes, had no intention or desire of coming to any agreement at all. They now felt strong enough to expel their conquerors, and they determined to do so without binding themselves to any conditions. They required, as a preliminary to all negotiations, that the King of England should

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renounce all pretensions to the crown, name, and arms of France ; and that his possessions in that country he should hold by homage. The Archbishop of York had only one reply to make : that on such terms no treaty of peace could be effected.

There was no altercation. The matter seemed for a time to be dropped. The archbishop and the members of the legation were entertained in his pavilion by Cardinal Beaufort. The Bishop of St. David's was absent. It was a Friday, and the repast, though splendid, consisted only of fish of every sort, and dressed in every variety of way : the Bishop of St. David's, however, was obliged to decline the invitation, as his stomach was weak, and fish did not agree with him. The Duchess of Burgundy gave an evening party, and the ambassadors partook of wine and sweet-meats in her pavilion, and then returned to Calais.

The cardinal and the duchess had frequent conferences in private, without any satisfactory result. On the 11th of July, the Bishop of Vicq, in Catalonia, presented himself to the convention, as a legate from the Council of Basle, to treat of peace between England and France. This interference of the Council of Basle was offensive to the cardinal and to Kemp. A rupture had taken place, as we have before remarked, between the Council and Pope Eugenius IV. The pope had denounced the Council in a bull, of which a copy had been sent to the different courts of Europe.

While the ambassadors, on either side, were in doubt as to the kind of reception to be given to the Bishop of Vicq, a game of football was proposed. It took place on the day after the bishop's arrival. There is no notice of the attendance of the Archbishop of York ; but the Archbishop of Rheims was conspicuous among

the players. He received such a "shinner," that he was laid up, and unable to attend a conference held on the 12th of July. The accident afforded some amusement at an entertainment given on that day, by the Earl of Stafford, at which the Archbishop of York attended.

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On the 15th, an audience was granted to the legate of the Council of Basle, who delivered two orations on the blessings of peace. The Archbishop of York replied. He thanked the fathers of the Council for their good intentions, and begged the bishop to inform the members that the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester and the Duchess of Burgundy had been appointed to act as mediators between the two governments, and that the ambassadors had not received instructions to attend to suggestions made from any other quarter. The archbishop, whose party was never with the reformers, now hinted significantly, that if the Council of Basle had acted with impartiality when a conference was held at Arras, it would not have been necessary to treat of peace on the present occasion.

He then turned the tables upon the bishop, and exhorted the fathers of Basle to look well to their own proceedings; lest, by their conduct, the peace of the Church should be disturbed, and a schism ensue. The Bishop of Vicq passed a eulogy on Henry VI.; expressed his satisfaction at the appointment of such distinguished mediators; defended the Council of Basle; and, finally, he inveighed against the pope. The Archbishop of York rejoined, that the Council of Basle had done nothing towards the furtherance of peace; and as for the pope, he was quite convinced that, when the proper time came, he would be able to vindicate his conduct.

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Thus did Kemp throw over the Council of Basle; and bind himself to the chariot wheels of the pope.

It will not be necessary to enter further into detail with reference to these negotiations. The demands of the French increased with the success of their arms; and when, after a voyage to England, the Archbishop of York and the English legation were authorized to yield to almost any terms of peace, the French ambassadors dissolved the convention by their non-appearance. A letter was received from "the adversary," stating that he could listen to no proposals for peace, until he had consulted the princes of the blood and his council. He had summoned, he said, the Council to meet at Paris—now no longer in the hands of the English.

The English ambassadors were not far wrong when they admitted, that they had been outwitted by the superior diplomacy of the French; but whether that diplomacy was strictly consistent with a sense of honour and a regard to truth, is another question.*

The archbishop remained at Calais for a short time, to negotiate a treaty with Flanders, into the particulars of which there is no occasion to enter. He was detained there by contrary winds till the 2d of October. On Friday, the 2d of October, between four and five in the morning, he attended divine service in the church of the Carmelites; and soon after six he embarked for England with an escort of about twenty ships. When they had accomplished about a fourth part of their way to Dover, the wind shifted to the west, and began to blow so strongly, that the archbishop, with most of his companions, suffered much from sea-sickness. They

* I have given this statement at some length, as bearing directly on the most important event in Kemp's life, and because I am not aware that this episode appears in any of the English histories.

could not make for Dover ; but between eleven and twelve they arrived at the Downs, and there cast anchor. They reached the shore with difficulty, and went on horseback to Sandwich. He remained there that day, to recover from the fatigues of the voyage, and the next day, Saturday, he reached Canterbury, with the cardinal. They arrived in time to attend vespers at the cathedral, and were hospitably entertained by the Prior of Christchurch. The other members of the legation started for London on the Sunday evening. The archbishop, travelling in company with the cardinal, entered the 'metropolis on the Wednesday ; and on Friday, the 9th of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the archbishop and other members of the legation had an interview with the king.

The failure of these negotiations afforded an opportunity for attacking the Beaufort party, of which the Duke of Gloucester was not slow to avail himself. In a memorial to the king, he attributed the whole blame of a transaction which brought discredit upon the country to the mismanagement of the cardinal and of the Archbishop of York. The archbishop was marked out for special reprehension for having come to England, pending the negotiations, to persuade the king to relinquish for a season his title of King of France. This was a sore point, and told against the archbishop with the populace, and indeed with the country generally.

We may presume, that Kemp felt deeply the unpopularity which had hitherto attended his political career ; and although we find him regular in his attendance at the council board, he for some time took no prominent part in public affairs. In 1443, we find him indeed supporting the Duke of Gloucester in opposition to Beaufort, in a debate, whether, considering the

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unfavourable state of our public relations, it were better to provide for the defence of Guienne or of Normandy ; or whether, as was the third proposal, an army should be sent for the support of both.

It is satisfactory to find Kemp turning his mind to religion ; and proposing that the bishops should be required to have prayers in their respective dioceses for the protection of the realm.

Kemp's adhesion to the papal cause, and his adherence to the pontiff in opposition to the Council, now met its reward. To answer the double purpose of doing honour to Kemp, and of accustoming the people of England to the novel sight of a resident cardinal, in the December of 1439 the Archbishop of York was created a cardinal priest by the title of St. Balbina. Archbishop Chicheley, now old and infirm, desirous of avoiding controversy, offered no active opposition to Kemp's appointment. He had been frustrated in his attempt to prevent Henry Beaufort from sitting with a red hat on the throne of Winchester ; and he had found that, by the discretion of Beaufort, the evils he had expected to result from the appointment had not ensued. A cardinal was not of necessity a legate *à latere* ; and the only question likely to arise would relate to precedence. This soon occurred, and was settled, as we have stated in the life of Chicheley, by reference to the pope.

In his letter to the Council of Basle, Kemp deplored the low state of morals prevalent in the Church ; and expressed a hope that measures would be adopted to remedy the evil, but he did little in that direction himself. The episcopal duties were of secondary consideration with him, and perfunctorily discharged. He held indeed a provincial council at York in 1444, but

he did not give his mind to the business. Though he published two constitutions, one of them was only the transcript of a constitution of Archbishop Winchelsey, in 1305 ; and so careless was he in such matters, that these constitutions were not registered until twenty years later, when, by Archbishop Nevil, they were incorporated in a code established by that prelate.

The constitution which emanated from Kemp himself, is valuable as an historical document. It is generally supposed, that, before the Reformation, monastic property was held so sacred, that it could not be alienated. In former chapters of this work, and especially in the life of Chicheley, and when referring to the good works of William of Wykeham, we have already seen that the land of priories was confiscated by the State, and bought by these illustrious men to enable them to found and endow their colleges and schools. But there was also an evil practice, at this period, prevalent. A wealthy abbot and his monks would purchase the lands of the lesser monasteries, dissolve the religious house, and merge the property into that of the larger establishment. Small priories were disappearing, that the larger abbeyes might be increased. Against this proceeding, the second of the two constitutions of Archbishop Kemp, to which we have alluded, was directed. The archbishop states that information had reached him, "by a unanimous report," and that he was himself personally cognizant of the fact ; that some abbots, and some priors who had no abbots over them, were in the habit of selling or alienating the property of the monasteries, priories, and other ecclesiastical places over which they presided. The various ways in which this is done are mentioned in legal detail. One of the charges was, that when they sold the property, by converting the money to

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their own use, they still left their monasteries in debt ; and another charge was, that they gave the property, without stint, to their acquaintances and friends ; the result being that Divine worship was diminished, and the statutable observances were neglected. As a remedy, it was ordered, that no alienation, sale, or grant should be made, without the consent of the chapter first obtained, and a licence from the primate. He declared that sales, alienations, and grants made under other conditions, were to be utterly null and void. But the archbishop, while thus reiterating a canon of the Church, must have been perfectly aware, that, whatever the canon law might decree, such sales and alienations were always good at common law, unless when the king was the founder.

The reader will bear these facts in mind, when hereafter we shall have to advert to proceedings connected with the Reformation.

Every act of legislation in the Church tends to show the low condition of morals among the clergy, and their neglect of duty. We find that the chantry priests, and other inferior clergy, having certain rights in churches and chapels, were continually at variance with the rectors and vicars, and endeavouring to make a party in the different parishes against them. With others among the clergy, who, instead of employing their leisure in study, frequented “taverns, shows, cells of suspected women, or unlawful games ;” these men were warned that, unless they amended, they would be suspended from their office.*

It is not, however, to be supposed that the regulations of a non-resident diocesan would really effect a reform. At the same time the archbishop, com-

* Wilkins, iii. 668, 669.

pelled to leave the management of his temporalities to agents or middlemen, had become, through their mismanagement, deservedly unpopular in the north. In the preface to the "Plumpton Correspondence," published by the Camden Society, the learned editor, Mr. Stapleton, has printed the documents relating to a controversy which arose, in 1441, between the tenants of the Forest of Knaresborough, and the officers, tenants, and servants of the cardinal archbishop. It led to an affray, in which several lives were lost. The documents are too long for transcription, but they are worthy of the perusal of those who desire to obtain an insight into the manners of the time.* The dispute ended in a compromise, and after a perusal of the documents we come to Sir Roger de Coverley's conclusion, that much may be said on both sides of the question. But certain facts are stated on the one side and not denied on the other, which startle and perplex us. We are told, for instance, that, pending the suit, the archbishop "kept his town of Ripon, at Fair times, by night, like a town of war, with soldiers hired for their wages;" so that none of the king's tenants could enter the town of Ripon, "all the term of three years, to utter their caffer" wherewith to pay their rent to the king. The troops of the archbishop, enlisted from Tindale, Hexhamshire, and the borders of Scotland, were two hundred in number. They went "robling up the said town and down, being adorned with breastplates, vambracs, and rerebrace, greves and quishers, gorgett

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* See historical notice of the family of Plumpton, prefixed to the Plumpton Correspondence, liv. To the document published by Mr. Stapleton, which gives the *ex parte* statement of the opponents of the archbishop, should be opposed the counter-statement of the archbishop in the proclamation of the king.—*Fœdera*, v. 1, 120.

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and salett, long spears and lancegayes ; and the simplest arrayed of all the said persons, had either a gestiment, or a hawburgon, or a thick jack upon him, and either a pricknighate or a sallett upon their heads ; and these came out of Barnley, Cawood, and York, to the number of a hundred persons in like wise arrayed, save only spears, lancegaies, and breastplate.”*

The north of England was at this time in a very disturbed and disorderly state, and particularly was this the case in Yorkshire.†

Kemp rendered himself still more unpopular during this period, by urging the king to the adoption of strong measures ; to give effect to those spiritual censures of which the people, when their passions were roused, no longer stood in awe. He complained that, when he had issued processes against some of the laity in his province, for offences of a spiritual nature, the people had assembled in great numbers, had pulled down his houses, had broken the pales of his park, had destroyed his wind and water mills, and had assaulted his servants. He added that, so far from being satisfied with these aggressions, they threatened to attack his residence at Southwell. Upon investigation, it was found, that these rioters were instigated by the Earl of Northumberland. The earl was accused of having written a letter with the object of provoking these riots. The archbishop demanded, with reference to the authorship of this letter, that the earl should be examined before the Privy Council. In answer to the accusations of the archbishop, the Earl of Northumberland delivered a written statement to the Council, the contents of which are not given. The

* Plumpton Correspondence : Preface, liv.

† See Acts of Privy Council, v. 211, 213, 215, 225, 232, 241.

dispute was referred to arbitration, when the award was in favour of the archbishop; the judgment being, that all the damage which had been done to the archbishop's property should be repaired at the expense of the earl, under the superintendence of three persons, of whom the clerk of the king's works was to be one.*

A proclamation issued from the king, addressed to the guardians of the peace of the North Riding of the county of York, and to the viscount of the said county, commanding them to arrest any disturbers of the peace; especially those who were making depredations upon the property of the archbishop, of whatever state, grade, or condition they might be. In this proclamation certain "sons of iniquity" are mentioned; who had dared to publish "certain imaginary statements, destitute of all truth, against the venerable father, John, cardinal and archbishop of York; that by these means they might move the minds and hearts of those who heard them against the said cardinal and archbishop, and his church, and those, in that place, serving God, as in truth they have moved them."

Having had occasion to regard the character of Kemp from an unamiable point of view, it is only just that he should be placed before the reader under a more favourable aspect. He was a man of warm affections, and, as was the custom when the domestic development of the affections was checked, his local attachments were strong. He would, in the charms of retirement, seek to calm his perturbed spirit, and relax his mind from the calls of business; but such relaxation he did not seek in Yorkshire, and the north-country-men would not forgive him.

* See Acts of Privy Council, v. 273, 275, 276, 309; and the *Fœdera*, v. 1, 120.

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A journey from London to York was certainly less interesting and much more hazardous than a journey at the present day from the English metropolis to St. Petersburg. Almost within the memory of man, certainly at the beginning of the last century, before starting *en route* from York to London, the man of prudence would think it expedient to make his will. In Kemp's time, except when a litter was formed for the infirm and aged, the journey was made on horseback. The markets of the metropolis secured the cultivation of the soil in the neighbourhood of London, and nothing can have been more picturesque than the suburban villages of merry England; but all this gradually disappeared as the traveller continued his journey to Yorkshire. North of the Trent, the climate became severe, the soil was unkindly, and the cultivation of it was rendered hazardous from the depredations of the outlaw or from the incursions of the Scots. There were, here and there, patches of cultivation, but the chief produce was barley, rye, and oats. The road lay, for the most part, through a solitude of forest and of moor, where the red deer still wandered; or along sluggish streams, the home of the bittern and the beaver; or by islands of fens, frequented by the cormorant and the wild goose; or through commons, over which the bustard and wild bull roamed at will.

Although the north country has always been famous for its hospitality, yet the monasteries were some of them in debt, and others virtually suppressed by their absorption into the larger houses: the demesnes of the nobles were larger than in the south, but their castles lay at a greater distance from each other. In consequence of these things the suite of a cardinal traversing these regions would depend upon its internal resources,

and the expense was proportionably great. When the archbishop at length arrived at Southwell, Ripon, or York, the business and the complaints of a neglected diocese involved him in employment uncongenial, vexatious, and perplexing. While, therefore, we censure him for his avoidance of the responsibilities of that high office to which he was indebted for his position in the state and his income; we must, at the same time, admit that it was natural, that he should seek elsewhere for that repose for which a generous and active nature continually sighs.

He found in his native county all that his heart pined for: for Kent, the earliest scene of civilization, was now the garden of England. In his paternal abode of Olanteigh he occasionally retired from the arena of political strife; and we are permitted to share his thoughts, and to trace him in his solitary walks. At Olanteigh there still exists an oratory or chapel, which was originally erected for the convenience of the household of the Cardinal Archbishop. He took interest in improving his paternal property. He used his interest with the convent of Battle Abbey, lords of the manor, to purchase from them, at a fair price, a parcel of land close by his garden, on which there was a mill, as he wished to add it to his domain.* At Ashford, about two miles and a half from the town, there is also still shown a spot, which is called Kemp's corner. Thence he looked down upon the Nore to the north, or gazed upon the junction of the Thames with the Medway; or he might stretch his eye over Romney Marsh towards the coast of France. In one direction there was said to be "health without wealth," in the other, "wealth without health;" while through the whole

* This is to be found in Dugdale.

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range of the country he could see "health and wealth combined." Here, he tells us himself, that his mind would often revert to the days of his boyhood, to his much loved parents and the friends of his youth. At the close of life, he would often reflect on "the great and wonderful mercies manifested towards him, by his God ; through whose Providence he had been elevated to riches and honour,—to places of eminence in Church and State. Amidst many and great dangers his God had preserved him ; and often He raised him from the bed of sickness, when there was apparently little chance of his recovery." While he meditated on these providential mercies, and remembered with gratitude the care taken of him by his parents ; he thought he could not evince that gratitude better, than by "devoting a portion of his wealth to the increase of those means of grace by which the glory of God would be promoted by the salvation of souls." He obtained, therefore, the royal licence to establish a college at Wye, as early as the 27th of February, 1431. On his occasional visits to Olanteigh, he gradually matured his plans, but he was so much occupied by public business, that it was not till the 14th of January, 1447, that he attached his seal to the statutes.* He was now in his sixty-seventh year, and hoped to be released from his public duties,—those at least of a statesman,—and, feeling that the end of life could not be far removed, he de-

* There is a copy of these statutes in the archives of Merton College, of which Dr. Brett made an abridgment in 1701. This was copied at the expense of John Sawbridge, Esq. of Olanteigh. In 1765, an abstract was taken from Mr. Sawbridge's MS. by Dr. Brett. This abstract, or a duplicate, was placed in the hands of Hasted, and, with his other MSS., is to be found in the library of the British Museum. From these statutes the statements are made in the text.

terminated to employ his active mind in rendering his new institution as efficient as possible.

Surprise may be felt, that an institution to which a man of such powerful intellect as Kemp devoted the whole force of his mind, should not, like the institutions of Walter of Merton, and of William of Wykeham, and of his contemporary Henry Chicheley, have served as a blessing to posterity. But those illustrious benefactors of mankind had the sagacity to perceive, that the monastic system was nearly effete, and they placed their establishments in the hands of the secular clergy. That Kemp was aware, that the monasteries required reform and control from without, we have already seen; but if he were to connect his institution with his native place, he had little choice left him as to the course he would have to pursue. The property at Wye and the advowson of the church belonged to Battle Abbey in Sussex; and Kemp could only hope to succeed in his new institution by attaching it to that powerful monastery,—a connexion fatal to Kemp's college, in the reign of Henry VIII.

The parish church of Wye had, even before this time, assumed something of a collegiate character, as was not unusual when large churches were appropriated to a monastery. The parish being large, they had been accustomed to send certain members of their body to assist the vicar, and these formed what might almost be regarded as a college belonging to the Abbey. The parish Church was their chapel, as we see to be the case now at Merton College, Oxford. The church was appurtenant to the manor of Wye, that manor being part of the endowment conferred by William the Conqueror on Battle Abbey, and had been appropriated to the Abbey in 1384. Kemp had first to purchase from

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the convent the land on which to erect his college ; and then, to prevent any controversies which might arise between the provost of his establishment and the vicar of the parish, he obtained the royal licence to purchase the advowson of the vicarage ;—for livings then as now were often bought and sold. He attached it to his college.*

In applying to the convent of Battle Abbey for their consent to his proposed establishment, Kemp alludes to the size of the parish, which, whether regard was had to circuit or population, was one of the largest in Kent.† They are solicited to accede to his proposal in pity to the archbishop, who was there born and brought up ; and because there lay buried there many of his ancestors, who had now passed to God.

He desired to incorporate the new society, and to advance a daily and constant worship of Almighty God in the parish church of St. Gregory in Wye. The community was to be under a provost, to be called the provost of St. Gregory and St. Martin. For the accommodation of the provost and fellows, he caused collegiate buildings to be erected at the east end of the parish churchyard.‡ Then came the question of patronage. The archbishop reserved to himself the nomination of the first provost, but conceded the future appointment, under certain conditions, to the

* For the account of this institution, besides the documents specially referred to, the authorities are Dugdale and Hasted.

† *Fœdera*, v. ii. 22. Like other founders, Kemp reserved to himself the right of altering his statutes during his lifetime.

‡ The parish is nearly seven miles in length, from east to west, and contains within its area 6,095 acres of land. Its population at the present time is under 2,000. The great and small tithes no longer belong to the church, having passed, at the Reformation, into private hands.

abbot and convent of Battle Abbey. The fellows of Wye were to select two persons, preference being given to a B.D. of Merton College, Oxford, and one of these two was to be chosen by the convent of Battle. The provost was then to name one of the fellows of Wye to act as curate of the parish; and the curate was to supply, at the expense of the college, all things pertaining to Divine worship,—bread, wine, bottles, napkins, everything except what the parish was bound to supply out of the rates. Kemp employed his leisure time in framing the statutes of his new institution; his object being to avoid the evils which were known to attach to monastic establishments, or any institutions connected with the same.

Every fellow was required to attend the daily services, being fined, if absent, a halfpenny; the choristers, if playing truant, were to be punished moderately and within reason by the rod, "*cum rationis moderamine*." Every fellow was to be competent in grammar learning, and singing. Both in the hall and in the parlour Latin was to be spoken, except when a stranger dined with the fellows. Then, for the delectation of the visitor, they might use the colloquial. They were to avoid, as much as they decently could, giving special invitations to their neighbours; their hospitality being chiefly confined to travellers. Women of doubtful character were never to enter the precincts, and honest men only to be introduced when necessary for some useful or lawful cause. Dice and games of chance in the house, and hunting out of doors, were forbidden. Their dress is defined as to shape, and it was to be of a dark colour, not too glaring, such as was worn by the graver clergy. On Sundays and holidays they were to be dressed as nearly uniform as possible.

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Besides board, lodging, and clothing, each fellow was to receive six marks for pocket-money. The grammar-master was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and to rank next to the provost. He was bound, on oath, to teach gratis all who came to him at certain hours; with permission, nevertheless, to receive, according to the custom, on St. Nicholas' day, a present of cocks and pence.* Out of school hours he might take private pupils.

As soon as Kemp had obtained the advowson of the living, he erected a new church. This, dedicated to St. Gregory and St. Martin, still stands at the north corner of Wye. The great chancel was made choir-fashion, with stalls for the fellows of the college. The north transept was appointed for the burial-place of the Kemps, and the south transept for the interment of parishioners of the better sort.

As for the place of his birth, so also for the place of his education, Kemp entertained a laudable and amiable sentiment of affection and gratitude. Towards the erection of the divinity schools at Oxford he contributed 500 marks;† and, in other ways now forgotten, he must have been a benefactor to the university. For

* In many schools, till a comparatively late period, it was a perquisite of the Master to provide the cocks, for which he was liberally paid, and which were to be buried up to their necks, to be shied at by the boys on Shrove Tuesday, and at the feast of St. Nicholas. See an interesting paper, contributed to the Sussex Archæological Collections by Mr. Blencowe, vol. ix. 184. It is or used to be the custom on Shrove Tuesday, in the back streets of Leeds, for the whole population to turn out and play battledore and shuttle-cock. It may be still the custom in other towns in Yorkshire. It is evidently a refinement on the cock-shying. Cock-fighting used to be the national amusement of the north of England, and Berwick-upon-Tweed was one of the most celebrated places for it.

† Wood, ii. 776

on the festivals of St. Luke and of St. Frydeswyde, the university appointed anniversary masses to be said for John, archbishop of York, and for his nephew, Thomas, lord bishop of London.* It was also appointed, that every doctor and professor of divinity should also, after each ordinary lecture, deliver this form of prayer:—"Anima Domini Johannis Kemp, Cardinalis, et anima Thomæ Kemp, London. episcopi, et animæ omnium benefactorum nostrorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant."† Holinshed states that Kemp either built or repaired the pulpit at Paul's Cross, and founded an endowment for a sermon to be preached there on each Lord's day.‡ The latter statement is correct; but the chronicler, in attributing the erection of the pulpit to the archbishop, probably confounded the archbishop with his nephew Thomas.

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* Thomas Kemp, the archbishop's nephew, a native of Kent, had been educated at Oxford, in his uncle's own college of Merton. He was junior proctor in 1437. In April, 1435, he had been appointed to a prebend in York; it is not necessary to mention in detail his various preferments in the diocese last mentioned, except to observe that the cardinal was not afraid of the charge of nepotism. On the 14th of December, 1436, he was appointed Archdeacon of York, an archdeaconry which he resigned for that of Richmond, on the 19th of Nov. 1442. In 1450, he was consecrated Bishop of London, at York House, Westminster (now Whitehall), by his uncle, assisted by five suffragans of the province of Canterbury. As Bishop of London he instituted the office of penitentiary, annexing it to the St. Pancras prebend. In 1488, he built the pulpit at Paul's Cross. This cross remained until the outbreak of Puritanism in the reign of Charles. Fuller observes that it was guilty of no other superstition, however, save that of accommodating the preachers, and some others, with convenient places. He died 28th of May, 1489, aged eighty-four, and was buried at St. Paul's.—Fuller's Worthies, ii. 136; English Chron. 98; Holinshed, iii. 265.

Wood, ii. 779.

‡ Holinshed, i. 236.

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We see from this, that the attack made upon the archbishop by the historians of Canterbury is really without any foundation in truth. They speak of him as penurious. Parker affirms of him that he only enriched his kindred; alluding probably to his works at Wye. It is said that the only work of charity recorded of him was an alms of thirteen shillings and fourpence to every person connected with the cathedral, who was in holy orders, and six shillings and eightpence to every inferior officer of the church. They say he did nothing either for the cathedral or for the priory. But they forget that he occupied the see for only two years. The people of York had better grounds of complaint.

Between his sixtieth and his seventieth year, Kemp spent the happiest portion of his life. In public affairs he took no prominent part; though, from the entries in the journal of the Privy Council, we know that he attended regularly to the call of duty. His health was bad, and we have seen how he was employed; thoroughly enjoying his retirement, — a retirement sanctified by good works.

He was once more called into public and active life by the circumstances of 1450. The queen looked to him for counsel and support. Archbishop Stafford had ceased to support her party as strongly as she desired. When, therefore, the attack upon the great minister, the Duke of Suffolk, appeared to be inevitable, she urged the Cardinal of York to accept the great seal which the Archbishop of Canterbury had replaced in the hands of the king. The cardinal repaired immediately to his house at Charing Cross.* Thence he went to the court; and the white leather bags being again

* Rot. Claus. 28 Hen. VI. m. 7, in dorso. See also Rot. Parl. v. 172.

produced, and first the silver seal and then the gold extracted, Kemp was invested with all the insignia of the high office which Stafford had held so long.

The first thing done by the new chancellor, in sympathy with the queen, to whose earnest solicitations for protection to her long-trying friend and adviser he had yielded, was to throw his ægis over the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk.

Whatever conclusions the future historian of this portion of his history may arrive at concerning the merits or demerits of the Duke of Suffolk as a minister, his letter to his son remains to convince us that he was not a bad man, and no one will deny that the treatment he received was cruel and unjust. We can understand the feelings of indignation with which men were regarded who, as ministers, counselled the cession to France of Anjou and Maine, and to whose mismanagement the loss of Rouen and all Normandy was attributed. While acting as judges at this distance of time, we should predicate wisdom of the counsellors of peace rather than of those who excited the various passions of their contemporaries to a war, on the injustice of which we are now agreed; yet we must allow, that party feeling rendered them too Gallican in their predilections, and not sufficiently watchful against the aggressions of Rome. But, after all admissions, it was by party malevolence that Suffolk was condemned and murdered; while, to justify the murder, it was insinuated, that by the Beaufort and Suffolk—henceforth to be styled the queen's party,—the Duke of Gloucester was brought to an untimely end.

Suffolk died because the party against him had won the populace to their side, as well as the ancient nobility, jealous of the new man. He was doubly

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odious because he was the favourite of the queen, who was every day becoming more unpopular. But on what ground was he condemned? He was impeached for having adopted those political measures, for the adoption of which he had, in 1545, received the sanction and approval of the king and the legislature. His enemy, the Duke of Gloucester, on that occasion, took part with the lords, who, the king being present, rose, one and all, from their seats, to support the request of the Commons, that the Marquess of Suffolk might receive certain marks of the royal favour for his eminent success in concluding a truce with France, and in promoting the marriage of the king.*

The whole parliament was bent on his destruction; and Kemp, like a brave man, determined to save him if he could; but discretion as well as courage was required. Suffolk had defended himself; and no one who reads the proceedings in the "*Rotuli Parliamentorum*"—and here, if anywhere, we ought to consult only the authoritative statements—can hesitate for a moment in coming to the conclusion that as against him no case can be made out. The new chancellor, however, perceived that judgment would certainly go against him in the present state of the public mind, and advised him not to throw himself on the privilege of his peerage, but to appeal to the mercy of the king.

The whole of the proceedings were pre-arranged by the chancellor and the court. On Tuesday, the 17th of March, the king summoned into the royal presence all the lords spiritual and temporal who happened to

* Rot. Parl. v. 73, 74. William de la Pole was created Marquess of Suffolk 1st Sept. 1444, and Duke of Suffolk 2d June, 1448. He was married to Alice, granddaughter of the poet Chaucer.—Nicolas, edit. Courthorpe.

be in town. They found the king in his inner chamber, "with a gavill window over a cloister in his palace of Westminster." When they were assembled, the king summoned the Duke of Suffolk, who had been arrested and sent to the Tower. When the duke was introduced, he fell on his knees and remained kneeling. On being asked whether he had anything to say in his defence he replied, that, with respect to the charges brought against him, some were impossible and all were false. He declared himself to be as innocent, with respect to the crimes of which he was accused, as "the child still in the mother's womb;" and he then threw himself without reserve on the mercy of the king. The most reverend chancellor then addressed him: "Sir, I perceive that by not departing from your answer and declarations, in the matters whereof you are accused, and by your not putting yourself on your peerage, you submit wholly to the king's rule and governance. Wherefore the king commandeth me to say unto you, that he will not hold you either guilty or innocent of the charges wherewith you are charged, as touching the great and horrible things brought against you in the first bill. And as touching the second bill, or impeachment, touching misprisions which be not criminal, the king, not as a judge advised by the lords, but on the ground of your submission to him, and of his own judgment, commands you to quit this land before the 1st of May; and forbids you to set your feet, during the five next years, on his dominions, either in this kingdom, or beyond the sea."*

That this was done in a packed council, and, as it were, in defiance of parliament, appears on the face of

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* Rot. Parl. v. 182, 183. I have abbreviated the speech.

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the whole proceedings. The king summoned certain lords as witnesses of his conduct, and took the whole responsibility upon himself. He did not, as judge, pronounce sentence; but, as king, he banished a subject. The parliament was prorogued; but not until it had, through Viscount Beaumont, protested against the unconstitutional proceeding. Whether in advising such a course, to save an innocent man, Kemp was justified, we must leave to casuists and politicians to determine. It was certainly a bold measure; and backed, as Kemp must have been, by the queen, shows that she had already evinced that resolute will for which she was afterwards distinguished. That all this toil and trouble and anxiety and manœuvring were thrown away: and that the sentence, uttered against the duke in a Higher Tribunal, only admitted upon earth of a few days' respite, is known to every reader of English history.

The difficulties which surrounded the chancellor were great and increasing. The Duke of York was now openly affirming his right to the crown. Many of the most powerful among the nobles, disgusted by the weakness of the king, or offended by the caprice of the queen whom they accused of ambition, were rallying round the standard of the duke; or rather, were in secret correspondence with him. These difficulties were augmented by the unpopularity of the new minister with whom Kemp was associated. The Duke of Somerset, on succeeding Suffolk in the ministry, incurred all the odium which had brought that great statesman to an untimely end. To the incapacity of Somerset was attributed the loss of Normandy; and it was an unfortunate circumstance, that he should now be placed at the head of affairs in England,

although the queen had, perhaps, under the circumstances, no other choice.

The country, when Kemp resumed office as chancellor, was in a very dangerous condition. Discontent universally prevailed, and tumultuous meetings, excited by the Yorkists, were held in various places. Kemp instantly adopted decided measures. In February 1450, he caused proclamations to be issued in London, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, forbidding the use of arms, and requiring their surrender on the part of all except lords, knights, and "ancient esquires." Writs were directed to the magistrates of Canterbury, Sandwich, Oxford, Winchelsey, and Sudbury; thanking them for the information sent to Government of the dangerous assemblages of the people. Libellous handbills had been posted all over London; but on the 14th of April, the chancellor directed the Sheriff of London to institute proceedings for the apprehension of offenders. All these precautions, however, were in vain. The insurrection under John Cade assumed so formidable an appearance as to threaten a revolution. Kemp entreated his predecessor who, by his resignation, had rendered himself popular, to act as mediator between the insurgents and the Government; and archbishop Stafford's kinsman, Sir Humphrey, had the command of the troops. Upon this subject we have had occasion to speak at some length in the life of Stafford; we have only here to add, that in the suppression of the rebellion the new lord chancellor took decided measures for the punishment of those who had encouraged it. On the 11th of September, the king rode into Rochester, the cardinal chancellor being on horseback on his right side, and the Duke of Somerset, as constable of England, riding on his left. Here a great assize was held.

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Whatever may be thought of Kemp's administration, certainly want of vigour cannot be laid to its charge. Circumstances the most adverse, and over which he had no control, occurred, and he met them bravely. In 1451, all England was fired with indignation by the report—too true, that, with the single exception of Calais, all our possessions on the Continent were lost. This, in point of fact a national advantage, was regarded by every man with feelings such as a knight would have experienced, who had been overthrown in a tournament. To add to his perplexities, the chancellor received intelligence, that the Duke of York had returned from Ireland and demanded the trial of Somerset. The duke proclaimed that the country was now being ruined by a king whose easy and gentle nature incapacitated him for government, and who was therefore ruled by an ambitious queen—that “outlandish woman.” He further caused it to be declared, that the wise course to be pursued was for the people to insist upon the government being placed in the hands of one who, if even he had no right to the crown, was the fittest man to protect the king and govern the kingdom.

The Duke of Somerset was, at this time, in France; and the Duke of York seemed to be irresistible. The Duke of York was intriguing with the leaders of the House of Commons. He marched to London, had an interview with the king and queen; behaved with insolence, clearly with the intention of overawing the monarch. Then, knowing that all things were not yet ripe for a revolution, he retired to his castle at Fotheringay, having first obtained from the king a solemn promise that a parliament should be immediately called. The queen and the chancellor now

urged the return of Somerset, as the only person, being himself one of the royal family, who could make a stand against the Duke of York. He came, but the people regarded him as a traitor. Normandy was lost to England ; the Yorkists whispered that it had been sold to the adversary by Somerset. The Cardinal Archbishop of York opened the parliament which met at Westminster in 1451, and a stormy parliament it was. It was proposed in the House of Commons, that the king being childless, the Duke of York should be acknowledged as the heir to the throne. This shows what the policy of the Yorkists now was. But the strength of the Government was manifested by the fact, that the member who moved this resolution was committed to the Tower. These proceedings also show, that the hereditary right to the throne was not regarded, at that time, as it has been subsequently to the Stuart dynasty. The Yorkists were strong enough to carry a petition from parliament to the king ; that he would remove from his court the Duke of Somerset, the Duchess of Suffolk, and others who were regarded as the king's friends. At the same time, the Government was sufficiently strong, to reject the petition, though in terms so civil that, though in fact the king refused to grant what he was asked to concede, yet in words he seemed to yield his assent. The strength of the Government is, indeed, proved by the fact, that, although his party were determined to enforce his claims by the sword, the Duke of York found it expedient to retire again for a time, to his castle at Ludlow. How entirely the Government was swayed by the cardinal, and how wise were his measures of repression, is fully established by the political songs of the day. He was at this time the mainstay of the Lan-

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castrians, and was spoken of by the Yorkists as "that cursed cardinal." *

The death of Archbishop Stafford in 1452, added to the complication of public affairs and to the difficulties of the Government. Whom should they appoint to the primacy? Whom could they trust? It was at last determined, that Cardinal Kemp should be translated from York to Canterbury. It was a thing as yet unprecedented, that the Northern metropolitan should accept the cross of the Southern province. The circumstances of the times, however, required it. A *congé d'élire* was sent to the prior and convent of Canterbury; and in a letter missive, the chapter was directed to postulate the Archbishop of York. Kemp was a Kentish man, and was distinguished for his munificence in the county; as popular with the monks of Canterbury as he had been disliked by the dean and canons of York. His election took place on the 21st of July, 1452. As usual, Nicolas V. ignored the election, and yet succumbed to the Crown. He appointed Archbishop Kemp to the vacant see of Canterbury by provision; and now was the decided step taken of converting the Primate of England into a mere delegate of the pope. Kemp was nominated to the rank of cardinal bishop by the title of St. Rufina, and constituted legate *à latere*.

The Government was weak and had a point to carry; the archbishop had always been obsequious to the Roman authorities. The papal curia was therefore strong: six bulls were issued—to the archbishop, to the chapter, to the suffragans, to the clergy, to the people, to the vassals of the Church. For all of these considerable sums were paid. In all the bulls, an authority

* Paston Letters.

was assumed by the pope which had never been before admitted by the Church of England; and which had been denounced, under the severest penalties, by the statutes of the realm. But for the church and realm no advocate appeared, and a precedent was established. The archbishop, before he obtained the temporalities, took an oath to the king, which was directly opposed to the oath he had taken to the pope. It is important to bear this in mind, as will be seen, when, at a subsequent period of our history we come to the life of Cranmer. His oath to the pope was: "I, John, archbishop of Canterbury, from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of council nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong, by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the *regality of St. Peter*, I shall help, and maintain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. *The rights, honours, privileges, authorities, of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in council, treaty, or any act in which anything shall be imagined against him, or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dis-*

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positions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy Father and his successors, I shall resist and prosecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly, personally or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's counsel. So God help me and the holy evangelists."

The lax state of morals is at once discovered, when we find that the archbishop, having first taken this oath, hesitated not to take the following also :—

"I, John, archbishop of Canterbury, utterly renounce and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have, or shall have hereafter, of the pope's holiness, of and for the archbishopric of Canterbury, that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be, hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you, my sovereign lord, and to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and limb, and yearly worship, above all creatures, for to live and die for you and yours, against all people. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power ; and your counsel I shall keep and hold, *knowledging myself to hold my archbishopric of you only* ; beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same, promising, as before, that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient servant to your said highness, heirs, and successors, during my life. And their services, and other things due to your highness for the restitution of the temporalities of the said

archbishopric, I shall truly do and obediently perform. So God help me and all saints."

It will be observed, that the pope now claimed to be universal bishop, and by the imposition of this oath before his consecration of a bishop, he asserted the fact; but the constitution of England remained unaltered. The State therefore still required what it had required for centuries, an oath from the bishop elect of allegiance to the Crown—an oath which nullified the preceding oath, and would have made each prelate a perjurer, if it had not been that both the oaths were regarded as a mere form—though, on the papal side, it was anything but really such.

The new primate obtained restitution of the temporalities on the 6th of September.* On the 24th of September he received the cross of Canterbury at Fulham, the residence of his nephew Thomas, lord bishop of London. On the same day he received the pall sent to him by Pope Nicolas V. On the 11th of December he was enthroned at Canterbury in great state. He was attended by the Bishop of London, and by Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, who walked, the one on the right side of the archbishop, and the other on his left. The Bishop of Rochester and other prelates followed; and among the abbots those of St. Augustine, Faversham, and of Battle Abbey. With the latter he was connected through the property held by the abbey of Battle in the parish of Wye.

In the first year after his translation, the archbishop held a provincial synod in London. The object of the statesman was simply to obtain a subsidy from the clergy, and all things were done in due order. The

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* Pat. 31 Hen. V. p. 1, m. 25. Reg. Kemp, fol. 210.

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earls of Warwick and Worcester, with other lords temporal, waited upon the clergy in the king's name ; and stated the difficulties of the country arising out of the French wars. The archbishop, in the name of his suffragans, promised that the subject should be carefully considered, and the nobles withdrew. The Dean of Lewes was then introduced, and he addressed the convocation in a long and eloquent speech. He represented the disposition to revolt which prevailed in Aquitaine, and the probability of our losing that province unless greater exertions were made. We see how deep an interest was felt in all that pertained to our foreign possessions, in the fact, that immediately a grant of two-tenths was made by the clergy—a subsidy much larger than the archbishop expected. It was for a political object that the synod was convened, and when the grant had been made the convocation was dissolved. The pope's nuncio, Clemens Vincentius, who had come to England on Kemp's business, thought to make gain out of the compliment paid to the primate in making him a cardinal bishop. Having heard of the liberality of the English clergy to the king, he thought he might squeeze something out of them for the pope. He made up a wonderful and not very credible story. He stated that it was with difficulty and danger, that the new pope, Nicolas, with the whole body of cardinals, had escaped the plots of one Stephen de Porchariis, a Roman knight. Having gathered together some ribalds and hirelings, with whom he said Rome abounded, this man attempted to slay and destroy the pope and the whole college of cardinals. The said Stephen had been apprehended, and, with others, found guilty of this conspiracy, condemned and hung on a gallows. Then the nuncio

asked the synod to decree that public thanksgivings should be offered generally throughout the whole province for the safety of the pope and his curia ; but the most pleasing thing of all would be for the English synod, in which the pope always placed his chief hope, to write, that the pope should consult his own safety ; quit Rome, which, like Babylon, was a sink of all crimes and wickedness, and fix his see and curia in some other country and city. To which end, if they would promise a large subsidy, there was no question but that the pope would quit Rome and Italy and migrate elsewhere. He insinuated that "the elsewhere" might be England. But the English clergy were well aware of Roman tricks ; and, without voting money, contented themselves with making civil speeches.*

But the cardinal had little time to attend to his duties as archbishop. His position as a statesman was surrounded with difficulties and dangers, which occupied his time, and overwhelmed his mind with anxiety. The proceedings and the intentions of the Duke of York were such as to render it difficult to treat him as an enemy, and yet it was impossible to regard him as a friend. In 1452, there was, indeed, a revival of hope for the queen's party. The great Earl of Shrewsbury, the greatest of those who have borne the honoured name of Talbot, was sent into Gascony, and success seemed at first, as usual, to attend his arms. A revolt in Scotland was favourable to the English interests there, and there was some prospect of the Government being able to come to terms with the Yorkists ; when in July, 1453, the news arrived of the defeat and death of the noble Talbot.

While the public news was thus distressful, the

* Parker, 434.

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queen was preparing for her confinement, and the court remained at Westminster. Her child was born on the 13th of October,* and was baptized the following day, by Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester. As he was born on the feast of St. Edward, king and confessor, Edward was the name he received. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Duke of Somerset and the Duchess of Buckingham, were the sponsors.† When the sacrament of baptism had been administered, the child was confirmed by the archbishop. But where was the king—the king, most interested in the event, who would have participated with holy joy in the sacred ordinances? He was suffering under the first of those fits which prostrated his mind from time to time, until he became idiotic. This was kept secret as long as possible, and he was soon removed to Windsor.

In addition to his duties, which, as we have seen, were manifold as primate and as prime minister, Kemp had to act as a judge. That as a judge he should not give universal satisfaction, is implied in the very fact of his holding the office. There were sure to be certain suitors in every case, who, being nonsuited, abused the judge for not being unjust in speaking in their favour. In the “Paston Letters” there is one addressed to John Paston, by a person whose name is not given; and in this letter the writer complains in bitter terms of the treatment he had received from my Lords, —the Lord Cardinal and my Lord of Oxford. He concludes it thus:—

* Circa horam X^m ante nonam viz. die Sabbati. MSS. c.c.c.c. No. 417.

† The illness of the king must have occurred before the time generally supposed, for we know that he was in a state of imbecility when the child was born.

“Written in Fleet, the Wednesday the second week of Lent. Moreover, in augmenting of my sorrow, I weened my wife should have died since, for after she was arrested, she laboured of her child, that she is withall, waiting either to die or be delivered, and she hath not gone eight weeks quick : what shall befall Almighty God knoweth, and shall dispose mercifully.

“Afterward my wife was some deal [somewhat] eased by the labour of the Warden of the Fleet, for the cursed Cardinal had sent her to Newgate, God forgive his soul ! Now she is taken to bail till Tuesday.”*

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Fenn offers some severe remarks on this circumstance ; but, as Ramsey observes, in his very useful notes, there does not appear to have been any injustice in the matter. The arrest of a surety for a debt, which had been paid by the principal, might have happened in our own time ; until the recent abrogation of arrest upon mesne process.

The committal of a lady for contempt of court is not, at the present time, an unheard-of proceeding.

To the last Kemp attended to his parliamentary and to his judicial duties. In parliament, during the short remainder of his life, there was not much that required his attention, but we find him employed in the Court of Chancery almost to the hour of his death.

He removed his household from his residence at Charing Cross to the manor-house of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Lambeth, on the 4th of January, 1454. And here he received a deputation from the merchants of London and Calais, of which we have the following account from a contemporary :—

“The meire and merchaunts of Londone, and the mair and merchaunts of the Staple of Caleys were with the Chaunceller

* Paston Letters, i. 179.

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on Monday last passed [14th Jan.] at Lambithe, and com-pleyned on the Lord Bonville, for takyng of the shippes and godes of the Flemmynges & other of the Duke of Burgoyne's lordships. And the Chaunceller gave theym none answer to their plesyng, wherefore the substaunce of them with one voys cryed alowde, 'Justice ! Justice ! Justice !' whereof the Chaunceller was so dismayed, that he could ne myght no more sey to theym, for fere."*

The nerves of the aged statesman were shaken. He converted his new residence into a castle of defence, and perhaps for that reason removed once more from Lambeth to Charing Cross. He armed his household "with bows, arrows, swords, bucklers, cross-bows, and all other habiliments of war."

Parliament had been summoned to meet at Reading on the 12th of November, when, as the king was unable to attend, it was adjourned to Feb. 11, 1454. At that time the king's illness being known, it was impossible to prevent the Duke of York from assuming his position as the first prince of the blood, after the infant whose legitimacy his partizans had the infamy to dispute. The chancellor was too weak to ride to Reading, and the Duke of York carried all things before him. The parliament was adjourned from the 11th to the 14th of February, when the Duke of York was commissioned to act as president ; and an adjournment to Westminster took place.

On the 13th of March, a deputation from the House of Commons waited upon the chancellor at Lambeth. On the 24th of that month the town was surprised by the intelligence that Cardinal Kemp, lord archbishop of Canterbury, was dead. Of the particulars of his death we have no account. When a minister dies in

* *Archæologia*, xxix. 310.

the midst of his work, if he has been a successful and a popular minister, the sensation in the public mind is profound if it be not lasting. But Kemp had been unfortunate as a statesman. He had not performed his duties as an ecclesiastic. He was beloved by his family. At Wye he was mourned, for there he was amiable as well as munificent. At Oxford he was honoured. When the king recovered from his illness, and was told that Kemp had departed this life, he remarked, "that one of the wisest lords in all this land is dead."

Preparations were made for his funeral at Canterbury. In the meantime an inventory was taken of his goods at Lambeth, which will be read with interest:—

"INVENTORIUM DOMINI JOHANNIS KEMP, CARDINALIS :—

	<i>ℓ.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" In camera & garderoba ad summam	DCCLXXXIX.	x.	xl.
In vestimentis capellæ	DCCCXXVII.	i.	vi.
In jocalibus argent. & deaurat. pertinent. ad capellam	CCCLXXXVIII.	i.	iv. ob.
In jocalibus aureis ad capell. celerar, &c. panetrium pertinentibus.			
In vasis argenteis & deauratis pro speciebus	DLXXXI.	xv.	x.
In jocalibus pertinentibus ad panetrium	LXXIV.	ij.	v.
In naperia ad panetrium	XXXIIj.	iv.	iv.
In vasis argenteis pro coquina	CCLXXXIV.	xiii.	xi.
In vasis argenteis ad officium aquariæ	CLVIII.	iv.	iiij.
Libri pro capella	XCVIII.	xvi.	viiij.
Libri Theologiæ, Juris Canonici & Civilis, cum aliis libris	CCLXIII.	xviii.	x.
Vasa ærea & alia utensilia pertinent. ad coquinam.	XIX.	ix.	ij.
Pretium equorum et aliorum pertinent. ad stabulum	XXIX.	xiiij.	iv.
Summa totali	MMMMLXIX.	xviii.	viii."

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THOMAS BOUCHIER.

Royal Descent.—Sent to Nevil's Inn, Oxford.—Benefactions to Oxford and Cambridge.—Preferments.—Dean of St. Martin's.—Dispute of the Dean and St. Martin with the Mayor and Corporation of London.—Further Preferments.—Bishop of Worcester.—Honourable Mention of Bouchier in the *Congé d'Élire*.—Controversy with the Pope on the right to nominate.—Disappointed at first of the See of Ely, to which he was afterwards elected.—Neglect of episcopal Duty.—Popularity.—King's Illness.—The Commons' Petition that Bouchier might be appointed to the Primacy.—His Translation to Canterbury.—Did Homage.—His splendid Enthronization.—His Conduct as an Ecclesiastic.—Appoints a Day of Humiliation.—Subscriptions raised against the Turks.—Primary Visitation.—Misconduct of the Clergy.—Clerical Fops.—Pastoral Letter.—Corruption of the Clergy.—Complaints of the Universities.—Convocation.—Subsidy granted to Edward IV. by Convocation conceded under Writ of Henry VI.—Convocation of York accepts Constitutions of the Church of Canterbury.—Bishop Pecock a zealous Papist.—His Principles.—Grounds of Hostility towards him.—Attacked by the Lords Temporal.—The Archbishop's Proceedings against Pecock.—His Judgment.—His harsh Treatment of Pecock.—His Political Career.—State of Parties.—Bouchier Chancellor.—Proceedings after the Battle of St. Alban's.—The Archbishop effects a temporary Reconciliation between the Yorkists and Lancastrians.—Conduct of the Queen.—Yorkists negotiate with the Primate.—Bishop of Terni.—Alarm of the Country.—Archbishop's Reception of the Yorkist Fleet.—Friendly Relations with Rome.—Convocation.—Reception by the Archbishop, Clergy, and City of the insurrectionary Nobles.—Bouchier attends the Yorkist Army to Northampton.—Conference with the King.—Battle of Northampton.—The Duke of York claims the Crown.—Bouchier's patriotic Conduct.—Retirement from public Life.—Won to the Papal side.—Receives the Red Hat.—Crowns Edward IV.—Antecedents to the Battle of Barnet.—Bouchier Ambassador to France at the Peace of Picquigny.—His Hospitality at the Jubilee of Canterbury.—Entertains the Patriarch of Antioch.—His Life at Knowle.—Literary Society.—Brief Account of the Members.—Social Progress.—Introduction of Printing attributed to Bouchier.—West-

karre appointed Suffragan of Canterbury.—Death of Edward IV.—Conferences with the Duke of Gloucester.—Privileges of Sanctuary debated.—Bouchier's Mission to the Queen.—His Interview with the Queen.—Delivers the Duke of York to the Council.—Crowns Richard III.—Crowns Henry VII.—Officiates at the King's Marriage with Elizabeth of York.—His Death.—His Will.

THE sixth and youngest son of Edward III. and Queen Philippa was Thomas of Woodstock, created Duke of Gloucester by his nephew Richard II. The duke was born in 1355, and married Eleanor, the elder of the two daughters of Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford, in 1397. His eldest daughter, the Lady Ann Plantagenet, was married three times: first to Thomas, earl of Stafford; secondly, to his brother Edmund, earl of Stafford; thirdly, to William Bouchier, one of the heroes of the reign of Henry V., by whom he was created Earl of Ewe in Normandy. They left issue Henry Bouchier, earl of Ewe and Essex,* their

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Authorities.—Wilhelmi Wyrcestri Annales, in the Liber Niger Scaccarii Thomæ Hearnii, vol. ii. Contin. Hist. de Episc. Wygorn., and Hist. Eliensis in Anglia Sacra. Grafton. Hall. Stowe. Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle. Polydore Vergil. Political Songs. Paston Letters, the genuineness of which has now been established. An English Chronicle, written before 1470 ed. Davies (Camden Society). Wood. More's Edw. V. and Rich. III. Buck's Richard III. Philip de Commines. Gascoygne's Theol. Diet. Lewis, Life of Pecoek. Pecoek's Repressor, with Babington's valuable Preface. Bouchier did not mix much in public affairs, but I have traced notices of him in what are called Hearne's Fragments, written probably by a member of the Howard family, in Fleetwood, Warkworth, and various contemporary documents. The last-named Chronicles are published by Mr. Bohn, in a volume called Chronicles of the House of York, to which well-edited volume, for the sake of convenience, I have generally referred. Rot. Parl. published by the Commission of Records.

* There is always a difficulty in discovering the right spelling of proper names. My rule has been, to adopt the orthography of

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eldest son; William, lord Fitzwarren, their second son, and Thomas Bouchier, whose biography is here presented to the reader, so far as we can extract what is personal from the general history of the age.*

The first of the English Bouchiers, whom I have been able to discover is Sir Robert Bouchier, who married, in the year 1266, Emma de Holbrooke, an heiress in the county of Suffolk. Their son, Sir John, married Helen, heiress of Walter de Colchester, acquiring

the *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*. The variations in the spelling of the name borne by him whose history is here given, are remarkable. During the 13th and two following centuries, we find it spelt:—1. Boursier; 2. Burcer; 3. Burser, and, 4. Bourcheyser; 5. in the parliamentary session of 1461, it occurs as Bouchier; 6. in that of 1472, Bourgchier; 7. Bourchiore; 8. at the funeral of Edw. IV., Bourser, and 9. Bowser; 10. at the funeral of the archbishop, Boureshyre; 11. in Polydore Vergil, Burchesder. The name occurs as Bourcher on the Roll of Battel Abbey. If this were genuine, it would decide the ancient mode of spelling the name, but in the true Roll it does not occur; and it is probably of French rather than of Norman origin. There was an Alexandre le Bousier, Receiver-general des Aides to Charles VI. A.D. 1380, whose name and office seem to accord, and probably the origin of the name is to be found in Bousier, the king's bursar, an office retained in the universities till the present time. Although many of the ancient families were destroyed during the War of the Roses, we can, nevertheless, trace several through the female line to the present time; and I have been favoured by the Rev. Bouchier Wrey Saville, to whom I am indebted for the information contained in this note, with a pedigree, which shows that a representative of the Bouchier family is still found in Sir Bouchier Wrey.

* See Sandford, *Genealogical Hist.* 235, from which I have been able to supplement some family records, through the kindness of Mr. Saville. The younger brother of the archbishop became Lord Berners. Eleanor, the sister, was married to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. Hence, in the Paston Letters, ii. 12, the archbishop is spoken of as near of blood to the Duke of Norfolk.

thereby the manor of Stansted Hall in Essex. This became the seat of the family for the three following centuries ; and his descendants became earls of Essex ; a title which was continued in the female line until 1646, when it terminated by the death of Robert, the general of the parliamentary army. Sir John was one of the justices of the Court of King's Bench. His son, Robert, was the first layman who held the office of Lord High Chancellor of England, to which office he was raised in 1340. As he could hold no ecclesiastical appointment to support the dignity, he received the large salary of £500 a year in addition to the customary fees. He was more distinguished, however, as a soldier than as a civilian ; and in the glorious field of Cressy, he was attached to the troops under the immediate command of the Black Prince. He married Margaret, heiress of Sir T. Prayers, descended from Henry of Essex, standard-bearer of England. The barony of Bouchier continued in the line of the eldest son until 1432, when it passed to Henry Bouchier, the elder brother of Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury. The second son of the chancellor, William, married Eleanor, heiress of Sir John de Louvaine, leaving a son of the same name, of whom we have already spoken, as the husband of the Lady Ann, and the founder of the archbishop's line in this distinguished family.*

Thomas Bouchier, to whose history we now call attention, being thus of noble and even of royal

* For what reason the ancestor of the archbishop received a Norman title, not borne by his descendants, it is not easy to surmise. The Norman title may have been taken either in consequence of an ancestor, Humphry de Bohun, having married Maude, daughter of the Earl of Ewe, or because the Count of Ewe was taken prisoner at Agincourt. A new earldom, that of Essex, may have been created in the family after the cession of Normandy.

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descent, was born about the year 1404 or 1405, and was yet a child when his father died. At an early age he went to Oxford, and took up his abode at Nevil's Inn. On the site of what is now Corpus Christi College stood, at this time, five halls or inns: Corner Hall, Nun Hall, Urban Hall, Beke's Inn, and Nevil's Inn. The last was distinguished from the others by having a garden appropriated to its members. For the other inns one garden sufficed, called Bachelor's Garden, subsequently attached to Merton College. Although horticulture was not neglected, yet the use of a garden in the university was chiefly to provide the students with a bowling-green; or to enable them to erect their butts, the practice of archery being by law enjoined on every Englishman.*

From the specimens we possess of Bouchier's writings and eloquence, we are not inclined to give him credit for becoming a distinguished scholar. Nevertheless, he took an interest in the pursuits of literature, and was, through life, the patron of learned men. That he took part in the discipline of the university is proved by the fact, that between the years 1434 and 1437† he filled the office of chancellor, when that office was not, what in Morton's time it became, merely honorary. Wood mentions his having taken part in a convocation of the university as early as 1428. His high birth, no doubt, brought him early into notice. When afterwards he became Bishop of Ely, Bouchier was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Although he can scarcely be regarded as a munificent prelate, he showed the interest he took in scholastic affairs by making a donation to that university—then rising

* Wood, Fasti, 276; Colleges, 390.

† Ang. Sacr. i. 537.

into eminence—of £100, which, with a similar sum given by another chancellor, Bellingford, master of Corpus, was put into a chest called Bouchier's and Bellingford's chest, the money being expended in small loans to necessitous students. When Bouchier was elevated to the primacy, he became a benefactor to the university of Oxford also, by various small donations and by a bequest of £100.*

On the 24th of May, 1424, Bouchier obtained the prebend of Colwick, in the cathedral church of Lichfield,† a sinecure. Before the year 1427, he was appointed to the deanery of St. Martin le Grand, in the city of London, an important office; the duties of which, however, he discharged without finding it necessary to give up his connexion with the university of Oxford.‡

The college of St. Martin le Grand, situated in St. Martin's Lane, within Aldersgate, was "a fair and large college." It consisted of a dean and a certain number of secular canons. It was said to have been founded in the year 700 by Wythred, king of Kent. It had been rebuilt by two noble Saxon brothers, Ingelric and Edward, about the year 1056.§ It had sak, sok, and tol, and all the Saxon immunities. These rights and privileges were confirmed by William the Conqueror; who, exercising his royal supremacy, also exempted it from all other jurisdiction, temporal or spiritual, regal or papal, and assigned to it all the privileges of sanctuary. These privileges had been renewed from time to time by succeeding monarchs.||

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* Wood, Fasti, p. 44.

† Willis's Survey of Lichfield, 430.

‡ Newcourt, Repertorium, i. 424; and Pennant's London, p. 392

§ Strype's Stowe, iii. 107.

|| Dugdale, Monasticon, iii. 2, 26.

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The consequence was, that St. Martin le Grand became a corporation, which formed a kind of *imperium in imperio*. Surrounded by the city of London, but beyond the jurisdiction of the lord mayor and sheriffs, it had its own steward and judge, and its own prison. For a time the system worked well. The government of the college was, from policy, liberal. It was, in consequence, the resort of foreigners, who followed their several trades and occupations without encountering the difficulties which, within the precincts of the city, owing to the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the citizens, all foreigners were subject. But, at the time when Bouchier took possession of the decanal stall in the magnificent church of St. Martin le Grand, the privileges had been abused to such an extent, that the immunities of the place had become a public nuisance. For, jealous of their rights, the dean and canons were ready to afford sanctuary to all who sought their protection; and that protection was thus carelessly extended to profligates of every description, high and low.

Just about the time of Bouchier's appointment an event occurred which impressed the public with a feeling that, if public justice was to be maintained, the privileges of sanctuary possessed by the collegiate churches of Westminster and St. Martin must be curtailed or abolished. One of those ferocious men who, when an army was disbanded, became the terror of the country—a discharged soldier—had been summoned before the city magistrates. As the city guard was conducting him from Newgate to Guildhall, he was rescued by five ruffians, who rushed upon the officers as they were reaching Prayer Alley. The city force was too strong for their assailants, and put the

enemy to flight. But, when pursued, these men rushed into the precincts of St. Martin's ; the sheriffs followed them, captured them, and carried them chained to Newgate. The dean and chapter prosecuted the sheriffs for this infringement of their privileges ; and the ruffians, being restored to sanctuary, escaped with impunity.*

These privileges were, at a subsequent period, transferred, with the consent of St. Martin itself, by Henry VII. to the collegiate church of Westminster ; and to the present time, the dean and chapter of Westminster enjoy certain rights, and possess a peculiar jurisdiction, in the city of London—a portion of which is an inheritance from St. Martin le Grand. But the establishment was such as we have described, when Bouchier being appointed to preside over it was contented with enjoying the advantages of his position without an attempt to correct the abuses. He had, as we have stated, a stall at Lichfield, and he now obtained a prebend—that of West Thurrock—in the free chapel of Hastings.†

By the vaulting ambition of Thomas Bouchier, St. Martin le Grand was regarded only as a stepping-stone to higher honours ; and to procure for him those higher honours, the parliamentary interest of his family was exercised. Their object was soon obtained.

On the 23d of August, 1433, Thomas Polton, bishop of Worcester, died at Basle ; to which place he had gone in attendance upon the General Council at that time sitting. The pope assumed the right of nominating the successor of a bishop who died *in curia*. He nominated Thomas Brouns, dean of Salisbury, to

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* Strype's Stowe, i. book 3.

† Newcourt, i. 428.

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be the successor of Polton, and applied to the King of England to ratify the appointment.*

The King of England was advised at once to repudiate the papal nominee, and to treat his appointment as null and void. It was notified to the dean of Salisbury that his acceptance of the bishopric, on the nomination of the pope, would involve him in the penalties of a *præmunire*. At the same time, a *congé d'élire* was directed to the convent of Worcester. The *congé d'élire* was then, as is still the case, accompanied by a letter missive, requiring the chapter to exercise its free right of election, by making choice of the clerk nominated by the king. There was, however, in those days, a little more delicacy observed in the nomination; and the king condescended to assign some reasons why the clerk to be elected was chosen. The letter on this occasion was so honourable to Bouchier, young as he was, that it is presented to the reader:—

“Well-beloved in God, forasmuch as that the Commons in this present parliament, by nighness of blood that our well-beloved Master Thomas [Bouchier] attaineth unto us, and the cunning and virtues that rest in his person, desired of us openly in our said parliament to have him specially recommended unto our church of Worcester, now being void by the death of Thomas, last bishop there. We, considering the said our Commons' good desire and request, also the virtues and honest conversation that rest in the person of our said cousin, and the nighness of blood that he attaineth unto us, and willing for these causes in especial, and also for the good worship, weal, and profit, that he, if God will, is like to do as well to the said our church as to us and our subjects there, and especially within the diocese of our said church, desire and pray you heartily that in your next election your choice may fall on him.” †

* Lit. Antiq. MSS. Cott. Cleop. E. iii.

† Bibl. Cott. Cleopatra, E. iii. f. 67.

A letter of remonstrance was, at the same time, addressed to the pope himself; who found it expedient to yield, or rather to accept a compromise. The Council of Basle was at this time in session. The controversy opened at Constance, with reference to the subordination of the pope to a council, and to the power of a council to depose the reigning pontiff, was not yet brought to a conclusion. Eugenius was not, therefore, in a condition to hazard a rupture with the English Government. There was, however, much to be said, at this time, on the side of the pope; for, offensive though his conduct was to the English Government, yet he was not, in this instance, assuming new powers. Bishop Polton had died *in curia*; and it had, for a long period, been the right of the pope—at first usurped, but afterwards not disputed—to nominate the successor of any one who died while in attendance on the papal court. It was the more easy to settle the dispute, as the English Government had a favour to ask. Thomas Bouchier was not of the canonical age* for consecration, and it was admitted that a dispensation being required, such dispensation could only be granted by the Roman curia. So it was agreed that Brouns should be bishop of Rochester, and Thomas Bouchier was to be bishop of Worcester. The papal authorities, however, invariably insinuated their newly-adopted theory, even when they could not act upon it; and a bull was issued, —antedated the 9th of March, 1433–4†—appointing Bouchier to the see of Worcester. By the legal fictions then in vogue, all parties were satisfied. The chapter affirmed that Bouchier was their bishop by their free

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* His profession of obedience was delayed a month, on account of his not being of age.

† Regist. Chicheley, f. 52.

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election; the king asserted that Bouchier was bishop by his nomination and patronage; the pope contended that Bouchier was bishop through papal provision. Thus the bishop was required to forswear himself. He swore allegiance to the pope; and then, in swearing allegiance to the king, he solemnly declared that he would obey, not the pope, but the king, in any controversies which might arise between the two powers. The bishop satisfied his conscience, by feeling, that between the two powers no dispute would ever arise so as to compel the bishop to take part in it. On the 15th of April, 1435, Thomas Bouchier received the temporalities of his see;* and on the 15th of May he was duly consecrated in the church of Blackfriars, London,† his kinsman, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, officiating on the occasion.

It might have been supposed, that the bishopric of Worcester would have satisfied the ambition of so young a man, at least for a season. But the very next year, we find Bouchier endeavouring to effect a translation to the more opulent see of Ely. This see was rendered vacant on the 21st of October, 1435, by the death of Philip Morgan. On the 30th of that month, a *congé d'élire* was directed to the chapter, and they determined to postulate for their bishop Robert Fitzhugh, bishop of London. But, before the translation could be effected, the Bishop of London died. The chapter then proceeded to a new election; and, not regarding the royal recommendation of Thomas Rudborne, bishop of St. David's, they determined to postulate Thomas Bouchier, the newly-elected bishop

* 4 Pat. 13, Hen. VI. m. 64.

† Reg. Bouchier, f. 1, at Worcester. All the consecrations in Blackfriars seem to have been performed by Bouchier.

of Worcester. Bouchier immediately sent messengers to Rome, to obtain the papal licence for his removal from one see to another. After the controversy, which had lately taken place between the two governments with reference to Bouchier's new appointment, Pope Eugenius, under the supposition that the arrangement would be satisfactory to the English Government, had no hesitation in giving his consent. The papal bulls were directed to Bouchier, but he, fearing lest he should incur the penalties of a *præmunire*, declined to receive them until the royal permission had first been obtained. His precipitation had already given offence. The Government refused to sanction the postulation, or to ratify the election. It had been determined to effect what we should denominate a job. We have frequently had occasion to remark, that the civil government was willing to save the expense of a salary, by heaping ecclesiastical preferments on a legal functionary; when that functionary, though devoted to the law, had qualified himself for a plurality of benefices by taking holy orders. Louis of Luxembourg held, under the English Government, the office of Chancellor of France; and the civil wars in that country having reduced his episcopal revenues to nothing, the question arose how, in the exhausted state of the English treasury, to provide Louis with a suitable income. He was Archbishop of Rouen, and he was, moreover, a Roman cardinal. He could not be elected Bishop of Ely without a violation of the institutions of the Church of England, or without exposing the electors to the penalties of *præmunire*. Nevertheless he could be appointed administrator of the see; and, notwithstanding the opposition of Archbishop Chicheley, who, for a while, resisted this aggression

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upon the liberties of his church,* the Archbishop of Rouen was put into full possession of the see of Ely by the king, the pope and Bishop Bouchier concurring in the arrangement.†

Bouchier was too much a man of the world to offer any impediment to the arrangement of the Government. Consequently, when the see of Ely was again vacant in 1443, his friends, without difficulty, procured his appointment; the king nominating, the chapter electing, the pope providing, the bishop expressing his obligations to pope and chapter and king. The temporalities were restored to him on the 27th of February, 1443-4.‡ The next day he received the spiritualities from the primate.

That Bouchier was culpably negligent of his episcopal duties, when in his youth he became bishop, first of Worcester and then of Ely, is not to be denied. At the same time, the language in which his conduct and character are denounced by the Ely historian is so violent, that we must suspect that his zeal was accelerated by party feeling, or by a malignity arising from some personal offence. He accuses the bishop of acting with great severity against his refractory tenants; and he asserts that, during an incumbency at Ely of ten years twenty-three weeks and five days, he officiated only once in his cathedral; that once being on the day of his installation—when it was customary for the Bishop of Ely to be installed as abbot. We must add, in justice to Bouchier, that the time came, when he certainly evinced a feeling of the responsibilities he had incurred by being placed in the highest office of

* See the Issues of the Pell Records, p. 447.

† Ang. Sac. i. 670.

‡ Pat. 22 Hen. VI. p. 2, m. 28.

the Church of Christ. This may be adduced as an indication of that change of heart, which, if it does not invariably keep us right, betokens, nevertheless, a spirit of loyalty to our God.

The fact probably is, that during the whole period of his occupation of the see of Ely, the young prelate was so absorbed in politics, that he thought of his bishopric only as a source of income. The management of his estates he left to his agents; and his agents did as middle men are apt to do. They sacrificed the character of their principal, that they might be themselves enriched; and so long as his rents were what he expected them to be, the bishop made no further inquiries. We may infer this from the undoubted fact, that wherever Bouchier was known he was personally popular. He was one of those easy-tempered men of the world whose judgment is coldly correct; and who, in the absence of enthusiasm, are seldom hurried into a foolish, as they are never roused to the performance of a generous action. They carry their own points without unnecessarily provoking the hostility of their rivals. Bouchier, however, was not insensible to the insults he received when he occupied the see of Ely, and he showed his resentment. When, long afterwards, he made his will, he left a bequest to his former diocese of Worcester, while to Ely he bequeathed nothing.

Like most of the young men of the age, who were not bound by party ties to the house of Lancaster, Bouchier felt indignant at the losses sustained by the English in France; and these they attributed to the mismanagement, if not the treachery of the Government. Even at this distant period of time, when we are inclined to approve the policy of the peace party, we

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can sympathise with patriots whose angry passions were aroused by the surrender of English rights in France, as the price of the king's unprofitable marriage with Margaret. To the policy of the queen and her ministers, Stafford, Kemp, Suffolk, and Somerset, the Bishop of Ely was known to be opposed. By the illness of Henry VI., the government of the country was virtually in the hands of Richard, duke of York, when the metropolitan see became vacant by the death of Archbishop Kemp. When the extent of the king's illness could no longer be denied or concealed from parliament, Richard, Duke of York, was appointed protector and defender of the realm.

His first measures were to give the great seal to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, the only layman who was chancellor in the reign of Henry VI.; and to signify his readiness to accede to the request of the House of Commons, by whom the Bishop of Ely was recommended as the successor of Kemp to the see of Canterbury.* The House of Commons petitioned for the appointment of the Bishop of Ely for "his grete merits, virtues, and grete blood he comes of." The allusion to his birth is sufficient to suggest, to those who are acquainted with the history of the times, the object for which the Commons were incited to adopt a course so unusual. There was one man whom the Court would have selected, and who would, no doubt, have become the primate, if Henry had retained the reins of government—William Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, the munificent founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. He had been head master of Winchester and Eton, and had served the office of chancellor with honour to himself and with advantage to the

* Acts of Privy Council, vi. 168. Rot. Parl. v. 450.

country. But Waynfleet was the devoted friend of the king and queen; and to his appointment therefore it was not probable that the Yorkists would give their consent. He was a man of humble birth, and one of the complaints against the Government made by the Commons had been, that the old aristocracy had been passed over, and the sons of clever nobodies promoted. It is remarkable, that this was, at all times, one of the grievances of the lower orders against any government which sought to form a ministry from men of talent rather than from men of birth. The petition of the Commons in favour of Bouchier was, in truth, a petition against the great and munificent Bishop Waynfleet. But there was no occasion to urge the matter strongly. The Bishop of Winchester was not an ambitious man, and he readily acquiesced in the proposal, that the Bishop of Ely should become the primate. The queen, absorbed in her new maternal cares, and in her anxieties as a wife, was quiescent; and Waynfleet facilitated the arrangements for the translation of Bouchier, who, acceptable to the Yorkists, had not given any offence to the queen's party. The two factions had not yet been fully developed; and the appointment of Bouchier gave the more general satisfaction, since it was supposed that, united by the ties of blood to both parties, he might act as a mediator and peacemaker.

It would seem that, as on a former occasion, we have seen the great seal placed in the infant hands of Henry VI., sitting in his mother's lap, to be by him delivered to the chancellor,—so now, though the king was in a state perfectly imbecile, the archbishop did him homage. William Paston, writing to his brother John, says: "My Lord of Canterbury hath this day

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received his cross, and I was with him in the king's chamber when he made his homage."*

In February, 1455, the primate, supported on the one side by the Bishop of London, and on the other by the good Bishop of Winchester, approached the cathedral of Canterbury, which was superbly decorated for his enthronization. The great west door, when thrown open, exhibited the prior and Bouchier's half brother, arrayed in white copes; and the services of the church were performed with more than their usual magnificence.

At the banquet in the great white hall of the palace, the Duke of Buckingham officiated as Lord High Steward; and the new archbishop was supported by all the magnates of the kingdom, to many of whom he was nearly related by ties of blood. On the dais the primate sat, supported by the bishops of London and Rochester on his right hand, the bishops of Winchester and Ross on his left. The hospitality was conducted on a scale of great splendour. The halls were filled with guests from all parts of the country;† among whom were entertained the milites Sussexiani.

To Bouchier's appointment as cardinal we shall have occasion to refer more especially hereafter; I shall only mention here, that he was created cardinal presbyter of St. Cyriacus in Thermis in 1464, though he was not actually invested with the red hat before 1473.

Having thus brought Bouchier's personal history to a point, I shall arrange what remains to be told under two sections; reviewing first his proceedings as an ecclesiastic, and then his conduct as a politician and a statesman.

* Paston Letters, i. 54.

† MSS. c.c.c.c. No. 417.

I. The attention of the archbishop was directed to the great dangers to which the church and country were exposed by their unhappy divisions—defeat abroad, insurrection at home, and the functions of government impeded, if not suspended, by the illness of the king. Before his enthronization, Bouchier took measures for the appointment of a day of humiliation. There was no command issued by the Government, neither, except to his suffragans, did any mandate emanate from the archbishop. The Bishop of London, as provincial dean, was the channel of communication between the metropolitan and his suffragans. The archbishop commanded and required all the bishops of his province to admonish and persuade, or cause to be admonished and persuaded, all their subjects, both clerks and laics, to institute and observe on the Lord's days and other festivals, and on every Wednesday and Friday, processions, at which certain suffrages bearing upon the state of the church, the country, and on Christendom in general, should be introduced into the litanies. He did not, as has been customary of late years, draw up new offices or prayers; he only required the more frequent use of forms with which the people were familiar, leaving it to each clergyman to adapt them to the circumstances of the case. He then granted forty days' indulgence "to all and every one of our subjects" who repented and confessed, and interceded with God for the extermination of the Turks,—“the persecutors of our orthodox faith;”—for the restoration of the King of England, and the welfare of the kingdom; and for the immediately dispelling the danger imminent on the country from abroad and at home. Each was required either to say mass or to repeat the seven psalms with the litany,

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or to rehearse a nocturn of David's psalms or the psalter of the Virgin Mary, so called, or else to go on a pilgrimage. *

On this occasion, and on other occasions, Bouchier alluded to a subject which caused considerable alarm in the minds of thoughtful men,—the progress, namely, of the Turkish arms in Europe. Nothing marks more clearly the change which had taken place in the feeling of the public than the manner in which this subject was now regarded. To protect the insulted pilgrims in Palestine, and to rescue our Lord's sepulchre from the hands of the infidel, a few years before, all Europe armed. But, in the fifteenth century, men heard, with comparative indifference, that the eastern empire had ceased to be Christian, and that its capital was in the hands of the Turk. In 1453, news had arrived in England, that Constantinople was in the possession of the infidel, and that the soldiers of Mahomet excluded the worshippers of Jehovah from St. Sophia—the church of the Wisdom of God. During the primacy of Bouchier, Italy itself was threatened; and, in 1477, the Venetians purchased a precarious peace for the Church, by surrendering their towns on the Adriatic, and several of the Greek islands. A few years later, the city of Otranto was captured, and Rome itself was threatened. The emergency had called great men into existence. The student of general history has learned to pronounce with veneration the names of Constantine Palæologus, of John Castriotes, of Matthias Corvinus, and of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, better known as

* Wilkins, iii. 572. Spelman, ii. 691. Indulgences related to a relaxation for a certain period of the pains of purgatory. When it was discovered that the fact of there being a purgatory is not revealed by God, the doctrine of indulgences fell to the ground.

Pope Pius II., whose distinguished patriotism was only surpassed by his piety and learning. But among the western princes, our own Henry V. alone entertained sincerely the project of offering a European resistance to the inroads of the Turks; though his father had evidently perceived the policy and the duty of such a proceeding.

Of the feeling which inspired Bouchier and those among his contemporaries who believed in the efficacy of prayer, we have preserved, to the present hour, a proof; in the solemn prayer we still use on Good Friday, for the conversion of Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics.

Although the state of the country was such as to render it impossible for it to engage in a foreign war; yet the English Government was not deficient either in charity or in wisdom on the occasion. In 1464, the danger which threatened Italy was notified to the Government, and information was given of the course which the court of Rome had determined to adopt in order to counteract the devices of the enemy, and to support an army in the field.

The new principle was tacitly acted upon. It was assumed, that the beneficed clergy were indebted for their preferments to the pope, and, therefore, it was proposed to levy a tax, in every country, upon pluralists. It was supposed that, owing to the outcry raised against pluralities by the lollards, this would be a popular measure. But there was a difficulty with respect to the Church of England. The pope asserted that, if a plurality was held, it must be held by a dispensation or papal provision. It was fair, therefore, that he who thus granted the plurality should be supported by the pluralist. But, in England, the statutes

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of provisors and præmunire prohibited the importation of any papal dispensations and provisions whatever. They had been obtained, but whoever obtained them had violated the law of the land, and his goods and chattels were forfeit to the king. If the pope should say, "Pay me, for thou hast obtained the bull of dispensation;" the State would say, "Nay, but the goods are forfeit." The pope, therefore, proposed a compromise; and he demanded of the pluralists in England a tenth less than he demanded in other realms.

The Government, however, was not to be cajoled. It acted with constitutional vigour. It admitted the reasonableness of the appeal made to all the churches of Europe for the defence of Christendom itself, especially at a time when the pope was prepared to place himself at the head of the army, and to act as generalissimo.* But it was determined not to permit the pope to raise money for any purpose or from any persons within the realm of England. Assuming, as was the case, that the object of the pope was to obtain money, the Government was willing to permit the clergy to subscribe; but even in that case, it would permit them to act only under the authority of the king. It was fully determined not to allow an unconstitutional precedent to be established. Any synodical action was therefore anticipated by instructions to the archbishop; according to which he and his suffragans were permitted, not to tax themselves in convocation, but to collect money in their respective dioceses, in the king's name, for the service of Pope Pius.

Archbishop Bouchier, acting on these instructions, communicated the royal mandate in due form, through

* Though Pius II. died in 1454, yet his death did not occur before the 15th of August.

the Bishop of London, to his suffragans ; and gave directions as to the proper manner of carrying the order into effect.*

Soon after his enthronization, the archbishop held a diocesan visitation ; and, in a pastoral letter, he denounced some of the iniquities and irregularities then prevalent among the clergy.†

By the revival of learning, the minds of the clergy, as well as of the laity, the universal mind of Europe had been aroused. But there was a large body of the clergy whose whole time was occupied by attention to a ritualism, which had become cumbrous and to the majority of the people unintelligible. Against superstitious observances the mind revolted. Yet, from very perverseness, they were urged the more by those of the clergy whose intellectual powers were absorbed in the arrangement of a vestment, or whose souls were corrupted by concealing what they more than suspected to be an imposture. Where religion had ceased to be an enthusiasm, and when the reins of moral discipline were relaxed, the constrained celibacy of the clergy was doing its evil work, and was demoralizing the whole tone of society. In the nineteenth century, men of rank and fashion refer, without any sense of shame, to their establishments, sometimes more than one, of which the world at large knows nothing, until some, bolder than others, introduce their illegitimate children to the world. Such was the

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* Wilkins, iii. 595—597.

† Ibid. iii. 573. The reader who would see this subject more fully treated, is referred to the introductory chapter of this book. It is admitted by all persons, and by all parties, that the Church from this time, and a century before, till the age of the Reformation, was, in point of morals and legislation, in a very degraded state.

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case with many among the more wealthy of the clergy in the fifteenth century. In either case, the compliment is paid to the sense of moral propriety,—which they cannot, if they would, entirely suppress in a land professing to be Christian,—of keeping these establishments in the background ; but among the worldly, then and now, the thing is talked of as a kind of necessity under the existing conditions of society.* The younger among the clergy affected the manners of the laity, and when they did so, became the most disreputable of the young men of the age. The archbishop accused them of becoming fops, with a sword and dagger dangling on the one side, and an embroidered purse hanging from a gilt girdle on the other. “Bolsters,” he says, “were attached to their shoulders.”† The cassock was supplanted by a doublet, or short cloak. Their shoes were monstrously long, and turned up at the toes. They indulged in revellings, drunkenness, and low scenes of debauchery. The regulars were at this time more unpopular ; and they sometimes appear with the lay dress over some portion of their monastic attire ; thus avoiding a violation of the letter of that law which in its spirit they disregarded.

It is not to be wondered at if, under such a state of things as is implied in the pastoral addresses of the archbishop, feelings of great indignation were aroused in good and pious people ; who still sanctified by their

* Besides the pastoral from which these statements are taken, see the various constitutions issued by Bouchier from time to time condemnatory of the uses complained of. Spelman, ii. 662 ; Lyndwood, 288 ; Wilkins, iii. 314, 573 ; and the discourse intended to be delivered at a convocation ; British Museum MSS. Cleop. E. iii.

† Bolster denotes some fashionable article of dress. It is given in English in the original document.

presence the villages and the towns of the land ; the ten, the forty, the eighty, for whom a town or village was spared—the seven thousand in Israel who, in the worst of times, remained true to their God and loyal to their Saviour. Some were more earnest in prayer ; some were reading the writings of lollards ; while others were weeping, as the profane were ridiculing, all religion, and subjecting the sentiments of piety to a sneer ; while the openly profane indulged the malignity of their nature by seeking to uproot society, that, in the scramble which would ensue, they might appropriate to themselves some portion of the fruits.

Against the dignitaries of the Church the universities had a complaint. The primate, who had lately been Chancellor of Oxford, promised to do what in him lay to remedy the evil, when it was affirmed that learning was discountenanced by the maladministration of church patronage, especially by the monks.

A variety of instances are given by Gascoigne of the manner in which the monks sold and jobbed their livings. The advowson of livings was sometimes sold to the damage of a monastery. At other times, livings were conferred upon unworthy incumbents, in return for estates added permanently to their institution. Notwithstanding the various statutes against provisions, the University complained that Henry VI. so frequently dispensed with those statutes, that monied men bought some of the best preferments from the pope. The result was, that parishes were neglected, and no rewards being held out to learning, the universities were deserted.*

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* See Gascoigne, Dict. 60, 61 ; Wood, Annals, i. 615 ; Wilkins, iii, 363.

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The archbishop undertook, on the part of himself and of his suffragans, to do all in their power to prevent the recurrence of these evils, the existence of which they did not attempt to deny. A regulation was made, that no one should be admitted into holy orders, within the province of Canterbury, who did not produce a testimonial, either from his archdeacon or the chancellor of the University. But the episcopal regulations, however good in themselves, were frequently frustrated; the interests of the inferior officers of the diocese all lying in the opposite direction.*

We know of no important convocation or synod held by Archbishop Bouchier till the year 1460. He opened it in due form, but was occasionally, at some of its sessions, compelled by ill health to appoint the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Salisbury, his commissaries to preside. The convocation had now assumed very nearly its present form. A prolocutor was appointed, who, with the show of humility usually displayed by prolocutors and speakers in that age, declined the office on the plea of his conscious incompetency to discharge its duties, until his acceptance was commanded by the primate. Complaints were made of the hardships to which the clergy were, at this time, frequently exposed from prosecutions in the king's courts. During the continuance of the synod, it was reported at one of the sessions, that one of the proctors had been arrested and imprisoned by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London. Upon a remonstrance, however, on the part of the archbishop, the privilege of exemption from arrest, which members of convocation enjoyed as well as members of parliament, was admitted, and the proctor was released. Some regu-

* Wood, i. 618.

lations were made with respect to discipline, and to the tything of great trees, when they were blown down. Certain petitions to the king for a removal of grievances were voted. A subsidy was in this parliament granted to which this peculiarity was attached: it was proposed, under a writ of Henry VI, but it was voted to Edward IV, the convocation having adjourned to July, 1461.*

The weight and importance attached, at this time, to the convocation of Canterbury is manifested by a decision of the convocation of York in 1462. It was determined by the northern synod to incorporate with their own all the constitutions of the southern province, so as to connect the churches of Canterbury and York into a united church, to be governed by one code of laws. Thus amicably was settled, at last, the controversies between the two branches of the English Church, which in former times had occasionally led, as we have seen, to a personal conflict between the metropolitans.†

The most interesting, as well as the most perplexing, incident in the ecclesiastical history of this period relates to the history of Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, of whom we have had occasion already to speak, in the life of Stafford. The perplexing circumstances in the history of this eminent man are occasioned by a blunder made by Foxe, accepted, as his blunders too often have been, by subsequent historians. The martyrologist mistook for a protestant in embryo, merely because he was accused of heresy, the most determined upholder of papal authority. It may be true, that the strong measures taken against Pecock amounted to persecution; but it is equally true, that he suffered

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* Reg. Bouch. f. 12. † Wilkins, iii. 663; Wake, 374, 375.

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because he was an ultra-papist, a supporter of that doctrine which would, in these days, be called Ultramontane.

This was the real ground of his prosecution by the hierarchy of England, of whom he appears, to those who take a superficial view of the case, a defender. But, although this was the real cause of their hostility, it was not the pretext. The bishops of the Church of England, with the laity, both among the Lords temporal and the Commons, determined upon his ruin. But, that they might ruin the bishop without involving themselves in the difficulties in which a direct attack upon the papal court would have involved them, they brought against Pecock a charge of heresy. In the works of a man of independent thought, who enunciated, in forcible language, the propositions which his mind evolved ; and who attacked sometimes the arguments by which old truths had been weakly, though conventionally, supported, it was not difficult for one whose scent for heresy was quickened by malignity, to discover sentences which were, or which appeared to be, heretical ; and these were made the ground of attack. But to Foxe it seemed that any one, who asserted what, in the fifteenth century, was pronounced to be heretical, must be a protestant. Some of the tenets held by Pecock were such as protestants still maintain. Consequently, he was canonized by the martyrologist, and he has been regarded with that amount of veneration which even puritans are permitted to entertain towards those who are presented to their minds in the odour of sanctity. But certainly there are many in the present day who would more than hesitate to recognise as a protestant, a man distinguished for his vigorous defence of wonder-working

images, and of the worship supposed to be due to them, in common with all sacred pictures, relics, and shrines ; a man, who vindicated the practice of making pilgrimages, and ascribed to it extraordinary merit ; a man, who vindicated papal annates, provisions, and dispensations, together with the holding of a plurality of livings ; a man, who was eloquent in asserting the efficacy of sacerdotal intercession, of the invocation of saints, and who upheld a splendid ceremonial ; a man, who not only contended for a sacramental religion in general, but defended transubstantiation in particular ; a man, who was hated by his contemporaries in England for maintaining every papal pretension, usurpation, aggression, and all the laws of the papacy, at that time novel in the Church of England. It may be suspected, that if Pecock suffered persecution in his own age, he would not have escaped it entirely in our own.*

When we seek for the grounds of that bitter hostility which was evinced towards Pecock, we find it difficult to discover them to the full extent. But it must be remembered that he changed his party ;—a conduct which, while not conciliating enemies, very frequently converts friends into foes. He made his change, also, at an unfortunate time. In early life he had been patronized by “the good Duke of Gloucester,” who was at the head of the anti-Gallican and anti-papal party ; and then he went over to the Duke of Suffolk’s party, just before that minister’s disgrace. This fact alone will account for the hostility of the Yorkists, including Archbishop Bouchier.

It will be remembered that the hierarchy of England

* The reader need not go further than the Repressor, if he desires to ascertain the real opinions of Pecock. See Babington’s edition, pp. 114, 136, 161, 176-178, 434, 444, 453-63, 554, 561, 565.

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had been and, speaking of the majority, still were, the supporters of the councils against the pope. They maintained the principles propounded at Pisa, Constance, and Basle. There it was held that the pope was subordinate to the Church ; and that, while the Bishop of Rome possessed certain rights and privileges, he was among bishops only *primus inter pares* ; whose acknowledged prerogatives did not interfere with the independence of national churches.

We perceive, then, the ground of their hostility to Pecock. He volunteered a defence of the bishops assaulted by the lollards. He maintained the cause of pluralities and of non-residence, against which an outcry had been raised. When the bishops were censured for their seldom preaching, he distinguished between preaching and teaching ; he asserted that they were called to be not simply preachers, but more emphatically teachers ; and that their duty of teaching, more important than that of preaching, might be discharged not in the pulpit, but wherever and whenever they had an opportunity of giving instruction to others. He contended that it was important that bishops should hold the chief offices of State ; and that, being engaged on public affairs, they were justified in delegating to others the discharge of their spiritual duties ; in holding many preferments and residing on none. A defence so logical in form, though so illogical when brought to the bar of common sense, might well induce the involuntary clients of Pecock to exclaim—

“ Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.”

But the real grievance was, that, deviating from the principle of the three great councils, he ignored the

authority of the bishops as such, and treated them only as the delegates of the pope. He denied the Divine institution of episcopacy; he asserted that the pope alone, as the successor of Peter, was divinely instituted; that, as one high priest governed the Jewish church, so the pope was the one high priest to govern the Christian church; he admitted, that the divinely-appointed primacy of the pope involved the idea of lower headships, as patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, but he contended that these were the creation, not of Christ and the apostles, but of the pope; and that it was only through the pope that their appointment could be proved to be divine. Any one acquainted with the history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, must be aware that these Ultramontane opinions were novelties, and that they stand directly opposed to the very ground on which the councils had been convened—at which councils the Church of England was represented, and bore a distinguished part. In defending the supremacy of the pope, he defended also all papal legislation, and of course was opposed therefore to the statutes of provisors and præmunire.*

When we appeal from Pecock as he appears in the pages of Foxe, to Pecock as he appears in his own

* The reader who will refer to the Repressor, and read from p. 434 to p. 463, will find the argument in favour of papal supremacy very powerfully enforced, and will only marvel the more at the title given to Pecock, of "the Protestant Bishop." I agree with Mr. Babington in the high opinion he has formed of the work, considered intellectually. He considers the Repressor to be "the earliest piece of good philosophical disquisition, of which our prose literature can boast." The publication of the treatise so ably edited is, however, more valuable, as enabling us to understand the politics of the age than from its intrinsic merits.

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writings, we cease to wonder at the hardships to which the celebrated Bishop of Chichester was exposed. We can understand why he was an object of hatred to the English hierarchy, and why he found an uncompromising supporter, as under his trials he did, in the pope of Rome ; why he was exposed, not only to the *odium theologicum*, but to that worse odium, the *odium politicum*. The leading men in Church and State regarded, with feelings of hostility, the man who would set at defiance the statutes, which, framed to prevent papal aggression, had hitherto been, though frequently evaded through the assumed prerogative of kings to suspend the operation of statute law, yet in theory maintained, and under different forms, re-enacted.

Being a man of ardent temperament, not particular as to facts, but uniting with a logical mind a powerful imagination, he delighted in perplexing his contemporaries. For their intellectual abilities he did not hesitate to insinuate his contempt, by the assertion of paradoxes, which they intuitively rejected, although the refutation of these by argument they found it difficult to attempt. Even those whom he defended were frequently unable to decide whether he was speaking ironically or in earnest ; and he found a perverse pleasure in showing, that when he concurred in certain conclusions, the arguments by which they were generally supported were beneath contempt. That a catena of false doctrine, as doctrine was then accounted false, could be easily produced from such a writer, we can, from our own experience of controversies scarcely bygone, readily believe. Pecoek was proclaimed a heretic, and was as such to be judged ; though how to proceed against him was the difficulty.

When he was accused before Archbishop Stafford, he managed, in some way or other, to escape from his enemies, because Stafford was of the same party as Pecock; and, though a moderate man, was himself a supporter of the papal supremacy as opposed to that of the councils. Thus encouraged, Pecock went on writing; at the same time, making enemies by his egregious vanity, and his sarcastic insolence.

The hostility towards Pecock manifested itself unmistakably at a council held before Henry VI. at Westminster, towards the close of 1457.* The Council was numerous, and the Yorkists were in great force. The Bishop of Chichester as well as the archbishop was present. The lords temporal refused to proceed with the business before them until the Bishop of Chichester had withdrawn. Whether the archbishop was aware of what was designed does not appear; but Pecock himself was taken by surprise. An attack upon him had been organized. Certain doctors of divinity were introduced. They demanded of the archbishop that they might have copies of the works of the Bishop of Chichester, in order that those works might be examined.

The primate expressed his readiness to make the order, and the bishop was equally ready to hand in his books, provided that his accuser would be satisfied with those which had been written within the last three years. For the works composed before that time, since they had not received his final correction, he did not hold himself responsible. He added that

* Mr. Babington says probably the 22d of October, and he is an accurate critic. There is, however, some difficulty in arranging the precise dates of the events recorded in the list.

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they had only been circulated privately. The business was concluded by the primate's directing the Bishop of Chichester to appear before him at Lambeth on the 11th of the following November, when he was to bring his books with him.

This was evidently a party movement to deprive the Lancastrians of a powerful writer. It is to be observed, that the main charge brought against Pecock was, that he sought to effect a change of religion in England. Such, let it be observed, appeared to be his assertion of the papal supremacy, as extending over the hierarchy of the Church of England, and even over the laws of the realm,—this introduction of popery, or Ultramontaniam, in the strict sense of the word. It was also affirmed, that he was supported by many of the nobility, alluding to the Lancastrians, a party already formed though not developed. A letter from the bishop to Sir Thomas Canning, the Mayor of London, was produced before the Council. From this letter it was inferred, that the bishop designed to excite the people of England to a change of faith, and even to an insurrection.

From the latter charge we may presume, that he had joined the Lancastrians, who were preparing to meet force by force. The charge of a change of faith will be easily understood by those who have attended to the statements already made, as presented to us in the "Repressor." It was not a change from Romanism to Protestantism, but—using modern terms—from Catholicism to Popery. We may treat the charges brought against him for having written on profound subjects in the vernacular language, and of disparaging the Fathers, as introduced merely *ad captandum*, to enflame the theological as well as the political world

against the unfortunate prelate. He had only depreciated the Fathers when their authority was produced against the claims of the papacy. They were often quoted absurdly by those who produced passages detached from the context; and the insolence of Pecock in argument is seen in his saying, on such occasions, "Pooh, pooh!" a proceeding which excited the anger of many an ignoramus, who pretended to be a man of learning.

The London clergy acted as if in concert with the Lords of the Council, for the pulpit resounded with declamations against the bishop, while he was yet in the metropolis. The archbishop on this occasion acted with fairness: he interposed, and issued an order that the clergy should not prejudge the case.* The archbishop throughout acted with moderation and with an ardent desire to do justly. He summoned as his assessors not only the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, but also Waynfleet, the bishop of Winchester, who, though singularly free from party spirit, was the friend of the king and queen, and not likely to be prejudiced against the accused. On the 11th of November, the archbishop with his assessors took his seat in the chapel of Lambeth; and Pecock being summoned, produced nine volumes of his works marked by some erasures, while several passages had been re-written.

The primate and his assessors received the books which the accused prelate handed into court, and delivering them to twenty-four divines, required them to report upon their character.

It was for being inclined to foreign principles instead of acting upon those of the Church and Realm

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of England, that Pecoek had been brought into trouble. He evidently at this time, felt that he should escape, as he had done when placed under similar circumstances in the time of Archbishop Stafford. This made him bold ; and we have an instance of that sarcasm and insolence which so often turned his political opponents into personal enemies. He desired that the principles of an English court of justice might be applied to him. The judges assented to the proposition. He remarked that an Englishman had a right to be tried by his peers. Again the judges signified their assent to the truism. Then, looking scornfully at the bishops and other divines commissioned to try the case ; he remarked, that he had a right to expect, that those who were to sit in judgment in this case, should be his intellectual peers,—his equals in all that pertained to learning and scholastic disputation. The remark may have been intended as a joke, but it was one of those jokes which, like a wound inflicted by a blunted spear in a tournament, left its mark, and was resented.

The divines proceeded to examine the bishop's works, including the "Repressor" and the "Book of Faith." Pecoek, having corrected his works, felt secure. But his real offence, it will be recollected, was this,—that in order that he might make the pope the monarch and sole bishop of the Church, he laboured to depress the authority of general councils. The three great councils of the century had asserted their supremacy, which extended to the head as well as the members of the Church. Martin and his successors maintained the supremacy of the pope. The councils had, in point of fact, been outmanœuvred and defeated ; and in consequence, the Western Church was gradually yielding to the pope. This had not yet been completely

accomplished by the papal party, either in the Gallican or in the Anglican Church ; but the resistance to the papal claims was growing fainter and more faint. This was the last struggle in England, until the period of the Reformation. Having alluded to some passages which seemed to deny our Lord's descent into hell, and to assert that it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Ghost—articles introduced *ad invidiam*—the divines found that Pecock maintained, that it was not necessary to believe in the holy Catholic Church or the communion of saints. He had disparaged the Church to exalt the pope, and this was the inference they, perhaps unfairly, deduced from the premises. The next article came more directly to the point. The councils had maintained that the Church, as speaking through a council, was infallible, and that the pope, who was amenable to a council, was fallible. It was easy to place this in an obnoxious form, and Pecock was accused of holding that the universal Church might err in things which are of faith. It is then stated, that Pecock affirmed :—

“That it is not necessary to salvation to believe and hold, that what a general council and the universal Church appoints, approves, or determines in favour of the faith, and for the salvation of souls, is to be approved of and holden by all the faithful members of Christ. Likewise, that what she reprobates, determines, or condemns to be contrary to the Catholic faith, or good manners, is therefore by the same faithful ones to be believed and held as reprobated and condemned.”*

It is easy to perceive how this charge might be misunderstood by a puritan partisan—ignorant of the contemporary history—as the enunciation of a pro-

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testant, or at least a puritan, article of faith. But the judges before whom Pecock stood knew the bearing of the remark. The Catholic Church being without authority, and there being a necessity of lodging authority somewhere, you must appeal not to a general council, but to the pope. This was a doctrine which the judges of Pecock were not inclined to endorse.

But it was not on this ground that they were prepared to proceed against Pecock. The pope had triumphed over the councils. The last two primates had, in effect, sent in their adhesion to the new Ultramontane doctrine. Bouchier, not a divine, was doubtful as to the course to be taken. None desired to quarrel with the pope. It was determined, therefore, to convict the obnoxious prelate of heresy. Pecock thought he had, by correcting his writings, guarded himself upon that point. When he discovered that his judges whom, instead of conciliating, he had exasperated, had determined to condemn him as a heretic, his courage entirely failed. A bully in prosperity is generally a coward in adversity. He stood trembling before the archbishop and his assessors. Then, after several examinations of Pecock in private, the archbishop convened a meeting of bishops and doctors, regular and secular, and called upon the Bishop of Chichester to retract certain practical conclusions which had been deduced from his writings. This, however, was not sufficient; the heresies of Pecock were regarded as having a character of treason towards the State. He was not only accused of refusal to be bound by the determination of the Catholic Church, except in subordination to the pope,—he not only thus exalted the pope above a general council, though the contrary had been solemnly affirmed by the Church of England

in her embassies to Pisa and Constance,—but he had, in so many words, repeatedly declared, that the payments made to the pope for provisions were lawful. By so doing he condemned the statutes of provisors and præmunire, and by condemning them he was a traitor to the king and country. The statutes were repeatedly violated by the Government; they were indeed evaded whenever a bishop was appointed; but the king was supposed to possess a dispensing power. At all events, openly to avow such a doctrine as that which was charged against Pecock, subjected the offender to pains and penalties which an adverse political party would not be slow to inflict. This, it will be hereafter seen, was the precise measure brought to bear upon Wolsey for his ruin. The archbishop caused a council to be summoned at Westminster, and on the 28th of November it met. The king was present. The Bishop of Chichester was summoned to submit to fresh interrogation. Many of the doctrines propounded by him were now discussed. The bishop's answers and replications were taken into consideration. They were regarded as insufficient, and the archbishop delivered judgment. He commenced thus: "Dear brother Master Reynold, since, as all heretics are so blind in the light of their misunderstanding, that, although they know they may conclude better, yet are wont, having once concluded, obstinately to contradict and oppose those who would redeem them, we will not contend much or earnestly with you, because we know you abound more in talk than in reasoning. We will however show you briefly, and declare to you in short, how in the aforesaid articles you presume plainly to go against the sayings of the more authentic doctors." The archbishop then points out, in reference to the

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Fathers, why the article on our Lord's descent into hell was left out of the Nicene Creed, making it one of the grounds of Pecock's condemnation, that this article he denied. The archbishop then came to the point. Pecock's object was, to exalt the pope above the councils; for this purpose he depreciated the councils, and asserted that the judgment of a council was not infallible; if not infallible, then it could not be superior to the pope; the great controversy of the day not yet entirely decided. The archbishop was careful not to mention the pope: he stood in awe of him himself, and so did many around him; how a controversy with Rome might terminate, no one could tell. Therefore, without mentioning the pope, he condemned as heretical, Pecock's denunciation of the councils. This the archbishop does by quoting the authority of the great Fathers and Doctors of the Church, who "do all of them unanimously say, that though the sacred councils may err in matters of fact, they cannot be mistaken in matters of faith, the Holy Spirit Himself being present in a general council to prevent it from straying from the way of truth." He proceeds to establish the same proposition from Holy Scripture. And so the bishop was condemned for contradicting the Fathers and denying the authority of the councils. The archbishop concluded thus:—

"Wherefore, Master, seeing you are convicted of not only holding what is contrary to the sayings of all these Doctors, but, moreover, to be a contradicter of them; it behoves us, according to the doctrine of the said Doctor Jerome, to cut you off from the body of the universal Church, as rotten flesh, and to drive you from the fold as a scabbed sheep, that you may not have it in your power to corrupt or infect the whole flock. Choose, therefore, for yourself one of these things;

whether you had rather recede from your errors, and, make a public abjuration, and so, for the future, agree with the rest of Christ's faithful ones in your opinions; or whether you will incur the penalty of the canons, and not only suffer the reproach of degradation, but also, moreover, be delivered over to the power of the secular arm, that, because you have attempted by force to plunder the treasury of faith, you may become, according to the saying of the prophet, as well the fuel of the fire, as the food of the burning. Of these two choose one for yourself, for this is the immediate division in the coercion of heretics."*

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The archbishop paused for a reply. The Bishop of Chichester for a time sat motionless and silent. At length he rose from his seat and said:—

"I am in a strait on all sides, and for a little while under a distrust which of the two offers it is best for me to accept; for if I should defend my opinions and positions, I am sure to suffer death and be burnt; and if I do not defend them, I shall as surely be made a gazing-stock by the reproaches of men, and not go off without scandal. It is better, however, for me to suffer the reproaches of the people, than to desert the law of faith, and to be sent after my death into hell-fire and the place of punishment. I make it my choice, therefore, to abjure, and intend for the future so to live, as not to deserve any such citation as has now been served upon me, nor to give any, even the least, suspicion at any time hereafter."†

The court immediately adjourned. One would have supposed, that this would have sufficed; and we cannot but suspect, that there was some political feeling, not yet discovered, which induced the primate to act with such extreme severity against this learned, and to all appearance, this good man. On the 3d of December, the archbishop, his assessors, and the

* Lewis, 153.

† Ibid., 158.

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twenty-four divines, were again sitting in Lambeth Chapel. The Bishop of Chichester was summoned, and required to abjure the condemned conclusions in a positive form. The court again adjourned to meet on the following day, when a solemn assembly was to be held at St. Paul's. Here the primate attended, his cross borne before him, and he appeared accompanied by the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Chichester.* An immense crowd surrounded the cathedral. From the great west door, the bishops, in full pontificals, were seen to come forth. One by one, each, silently and sadly, took the seat assigned to him at St. Paul's Cross. Before the cross a fire blazed. When the archbishop was seated, he turned a silent look towards the Bishop of Chichester. Pecoek was seen, the next moment, prostrate at the primate's feet. His voice could not be distinctly heard, but his attitude notified to the spectators, that he was making his public recantation. The primate was motionless. Pecoek rose from the ground, and stood before the pyre. One by one, his books were brought forth, the labour of years, containing some of the most powerful writings of the day: eleven quarto volumes, and three folio volumes, were handed by him to the public executioner, whose ruthless hands committed them to the flames. The only consolation was, that they had been transcribed, and that transcriptions of them might be hereafter produced. But the ascending flames ignited the passions of the surrounding multitude. The assembled people were inflamed into fury against the

* The Bishop of Winchester, Waynfleet, had become one of the assessors; but he was not present now. This adds to the suspicion that politics had something to do with the extreme severity of Pecoek's treatment.

man who exalted the pope above the Church, and denounced the statutes by which papal aggressions had been restrained. The bishops, the lords, the commons, the people, all condemned Pecock. The infuriated mob rushed towards the unfortunate prelate, and sought to hurl him into the flames which were consuming his books. The archbishop and the civil authorities interfered to preserve order. Pecock trembled ; and while looking on the martyrdom of his books, he was heard to say, "My pride and presumption have brought upon me these troubles and reproaches."*

Not yet was the primate satisfied. He advised the king, that the sentence had a retrospective operation. Of the books, many had been written before Pecock's consecration ; therefore, before his consecration he was a heretic. The consecration of a heretic was null,—was *ab initio* void,—therefore the see of Chichester was vacant. Whether any form of degradation was adopted, does not appear. We only know that Pecock was sent a prisoner, first to Cambridge, then to Maidstone.

When Pecock found that his moral degradation would not suffice to satiate the vengeance of his enemies, he took courage, and he determined to defy and resist them.

He had suffered in the cause of the pope. He had maintained the papal cause against the councils of the Church ; he had asserted, with Martin V., that the pope was the monarch of the Church, and that every bishop was only the pope's delegate : he had done boldly what Martin V. had called upon Chicheley and the bishops of his time to do ; he had protested against

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* I have given the story from a comparison of the Gascoigne manuscript with Bouchier's MS. Register.

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those statutes of provisors and præmunire which the clergy and laity had passed as a safeguard against papal aggression ; and surely the pope would not desert him in his hour of need. If the pope possessed or claimed the supremacy for which Pecock had contended, he would surely exercise it in behalf of one, who was enduring hardship in the papal cause ;—already a sufferer, and doomed possibly to become a martyr. And Pecock was not mistaken. Forth came fulminating from Rome three bulls, directed against the primate of England, in vindication of the Bishop of Chichester.*

If Bouchier had, in defiance of the statutes, received the bulls, he would have stultified himself by committing the very act for which he had condemned Pecock. The bulls he refused to receive, as contrary to law. He carried out his principle. In spite of the pope, the degradation of Pecock was ratified and his successor was appointed. To prevent further difficulties, however, Pecock was called upon to resign ; but he saw the strength of his position, when the primate was resisting the pope, and hence, therefore, the degraded bishop remained firm. “ If you degrade me,” he said, “ you insult the pope, and I leave the battle to be fought between you and him.” The Plantagenet archbishop was not to be defied with impunity, and he forthwith ordered Pecock into stricter confinement, and issued the following directions :—

“ He shall have a secret closed chamber (having a chimney), and convenience within the abbey, where he may have sight of some altar to hear mass, and that he pass not the said

* Strange it is to find the pope and Foxe, the martyrologist, uniting to defend the same person.

chamber. To have but one person that is sad (grave) and well-disposed to make his bed, and to make him fire, as it shall need. That he have no books to look on, but only a portuous (breviary), a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a Bible. That he have nothing to write with ; no stuff to write upon. That he have competent fuel according to his age, and [as] his necessity shall require. That he be served daily of meat and drink, as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the freytour (*i.e.* from dining in the hall) and somewhat better after [the first quarter], as his disposition and reasonable appetite shall desire, conveniently after the good discretion of the said abbot."

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"Forty pounds" were assigned "to the abbey for his finding."

II. We pass on now to the political career of Archbishop Bouchier. The archbishop was not a man of much vigour of mind and worldly wisdom ; but he was distinguished for his moderation and candour. Although he was a decided Yorkist, yet the Lancastrians were always prepared to receive him as an arbitrator, when an appeal was made from the sword to arbitration. Bouchier was not inclined to sacrifice the welfare of his country to the exigencies of his party ; and perhaps from the fact that he had no very definite principles or strong personal attachments, he was able to do more good than could have been done by a better and abler man.

When Bouchier entered public life the prospects of the country were gloomy and dark. The disasters of the English in France, and the disgrace which had been brought upon the once victorious arms of England, rankled in the minds of the people. These disasters were attributed by the people to the treachery of the peace party, and especially to the sinister influence of "the foreign woman," Queen Margaret. While we were

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disgraced abroad, there was mismanagement at home. The coasts were left open to the depredations of pirates and privateers. The Court was involved in debt; and the young queen, upon whom the functions of royalty really devolved, attached herself with the inconsiderate, and yet generous impetuosity of youth and womanhood, to the unpopular faction. The king had suffered severely in his first attack. He had partially recovered; but, always weak in intellect and will, he grew, every year, almost every day, weaker and more weak. There was an evident softening of the brain, which, at last, rendered him idiotic. He was a royal puppet, made to speak and act according to the dictation and coercion of the party which had, at any time, the custody of his person. For a long time he was kept upon the throne only by that feeling of loyalty which attached to an anointed sovereign; and by the affection still retained for the son of the hero of Agincourt.

At the head of the opposition, the party hated and persecuted by the queen, was Richard, duke of York, to whose character history has scarcely done justice. According to modern notions, he was king *de jure*, being, through his mother, the representative of Lionel, third son of Edward III.* But the laws of succession were not clearly understood; and an hereditary right to the Crown without the recognition of the title by the people in parliament, and by the Church at the coronation, had never yet been admitted by the English constitution. Richard, duke of York, until compelled by circumstances, did not urge his claim to the throne. It was not, indeed, fully asserted, until his rights descended upon his son. By Edward IV. the distinction between a king *de jure*, by hereditary

* William, the second son, died in his infancy.

succession, and a king *de facto*, was clearly defined; and the principle he maintained became the one principle upon which the Stuarts, at a later period, challenged the allegiance of the people.

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Be this, however, as it may, we must bear in mind, that when Bouchier first appeared in the world of politics, the Duke of York was simply the head of a party and not a pretender to the throne. It was, as we have before remarked, when the duke was in power during the first illness of the king, that Bouchier was translated to Canterbury. At that time the Earl of Salisbury was made chancellor, from whom, on the king's recovery, the great seal was taken and given to Archbishop Bouchier. The primate's appointment to the chancellorship was a compromise between the two parties.

It was not to be supposed when, on the king's recovery, Margaret received again the reins of government, that Salisbury would be retained in an office so near the king's person as that of chancellor—an office also which would frequently bring him into communication with the queen. The queen, though she may have suspected Bouchier of too strong a leaning towards the Yorkist party, respected him for his character, personal and official; and she may have expected to have won so young a prelate by those charms, which often attached to her cause men who could hardly have sanctioned her proceedings, or have shared her political prejudices.

On Friday, the 7th of March, 1455, the archbishop went down the river in his state barge to the palace at Greenwich, which he reached about eleven o'clock. The Council, composed of Yorkists and Lancastrians, was sitting in the chapel. The king was

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present, and the new chancellor took the oath of office. The great seal of silver was in a bag of black leather, placed on a bench before the king. In two bags of white leather, sealed with the seal of the Earl of Salisbury, were two other great seals, one of silver and the other of gold. The bags were opened, the seals were duly examined by the archbishop and then replaced. He retired immediately after his investiture to his manor of Lambeth; and there, for the first time, he discharged the duties of his office by an act of grace. He sealed letters patent of pardon to John Morton, late of Greenwich, clerk.*

Bouchier retained office only for eighteen months, but most eventful months they were. During the king's illness the Duke of Somerset had been arrested in the queen's great chamber, and had been committed to the Tower preparatory to his impeachment. The first thing that the queen did upon her resumption of power, was not only to release the unpopular minister, but to make him Captain-General of Calais. One cannot but admire the generous spirit with which she defied her enemies, in order that she might support her friends, regardless of every political consideration. But this was nothing less, in point of fact, than an open declaration of war against the Yorkists. Die Somerset must, or the death of York would be certain. In the spring of 1455, the duke summoned his friends and retainers to Ludlow. At Ludlow he was joined not only by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, but also by Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and other men of note. They marched towards London, with the usual professions of loyalty to the king, but with the avowed intention of bringing Somerset to

* Rot. Claus. 33 Hen. VI. 1455, m. 9, in dorso.

justice. The queen considered the king's name, scarcely recovered as he was, as a tower of strength ; and Somerset went forth to meet the opposition beneath the royal standard. Party battles were at that time fought on the field or at the scaffold. On the 22d of May, the battle of St. Albaus was fought.

By the death of Somerset the insurgents had gained their object ; and the victorious York acted with remarkable moderation. The battle, as it is now called, of St. Albans, seems scarcely to have been looked upon in that light by the lords on either side. It was regarded with feelings similar to those with which we should in these days regard a ministerial defeat in the House of Commons. In one of the chronicles it is called "the mad journey to St. Albans." It was a struggle for power between the ministerial party and the opposition, to be settled not by votes, but by blows. The king was obliged to accept a ministry particularly offensive to himself, or rather to the queen. But there is no reason to suppose that York was at this time insincere in his professions of loyalty.

The parliament assembled on the 9th of July, as in the ordinary course of things. No peer on either side was omitted in the summons.* The parliament sat in the painted chamber, where the king was placed in his chair of state. Bouchier his chancellor opened the proceedings with a short speech, of which a report has not been preserved.

The next day the most reverend and learned chancellor caused certain articles to be read ; in which were stated the complaints of the people against the ministry, over which, under the protection of the queen, first Suffolk, and then Somerset, had presided. The articles

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* Rot. Parl. v. 278.

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show that there were real grounds of complaint, and grievances which required redress.* The next step was to obtain a charter, or, as we should now style it, a bill of indemnity; by which the Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, though in arms against the Government, are acquitted of any disloyal practice. The blame of the late encounter was thrown on Somerset and his party; who were accused of poisoning the mind of the king against the Duke of York and his friends, and of raising "a great power to overcome them." To substantiate these charges, Bouchier read letters which Somerset had suppressed, written at Royston in the preceding May, in which the Duke of York explained, that, although he was going to meet the king with an armed force to obtain a redress of grievances, he and his compeers were prepared to render their "obeisance and submission." The duke only intended to speak with the king at St. Albans, but was resisted by Somerset, attended by a large body of armed men. The archbishop stated, that when Somerset was dead, the Duke of York waited on the king at St. Albans and rendered him obeisance. After a grant of a general amnesty, the archbishop, in the king's name, prorogued the parliament.†

The whole proceeding sounds strange in our ears. But certainly, up to this time, the desire on the part of the opposition,—to which, although chancellor, Bouchier belonged,—was to conciliate and reform, but nothing more.

Everything proceeded quietly during the recess. The king remained in seclusion at Sheen. The queen,

* They may be read in Parliamentary Hist. ii. 278.

† Ibid. ii. 299.

with her child, visited the Lancastrian lords in Staffordshire and Cheshire. From the decisive measures she was soon after in a condition to take, we infer that these visits had a political object ; and that it was not for no purpose that she left her husband. Was he at that time under the care of his doctors ? At all events, it could not be concealed from the chancellor, that the king had incurred a fresh attack of his disorder.* Accordingly when parliament met on the 12th of November, the Yorkists were as firm in their seats as ever. The Duke of York was declared Protector ; Bouchier remained lord chancellor.

But the king rallied again. When the physicians declared him capable of attending to business, the affairs of the country were once more in the hands of the queen. On the 25th of February, 1456, the Duke of York's commission as Protector was revoked ; and Humphry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Henry Beaufort, son of the Duke of Somerset who had fallen at St. Albans, were called to the royal council. Bouchier, though a man of moderate views, was so closely connected with the Yorkists, that it was impossible to permit him to retain the great seal under a Lancastrian government. He was required, therefore, as his last official act, to summon a parliament to meet at Coventry ; and there, in October, 1456, he resigned the great seal to Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, a personal friend.

The archbishop now directed his mind to the praiseworthy object of reconciling the two parties, and of persuading them to co-operate for the public good. The new chancellor, Waynfleet, acted cordially with him, and the same may be said of all the bishops.

* The king was taken ill at Hertford.—Paston Letters, i. 117.

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The state of the country was deplorable. The channel was infested by French and Breton cruisers, and the coast was frequently insulted, to the indignation of the unprotected people. In vain did the Government summon the great lords to send their forces to resist the foreigner; they looked to their own safety, and armed their followers for the protection of their castellated mansions; which, under a government in which they had no confidence, might, without notice, be at any moment attacked.

The queen was alarmed, and seemed amenable to reason; but no one would trust her. The Duke of York, indeed, and the Earl of Warwick, were excited to exasperation by the discovery of a plot for their assassination, when they were summoned to that council at Coventry, to which we have alluded. The plot was said to have been sanctioned, if not organized, by the queen.

The commercial world was demanding a strong government, for riots in London were interfering with the interests of trade. Everything was in confusion. At length, in 1458, the archbishop saw that the time had arrived when he might take active measures to effect a reconciliation. He persuaded the queen to summon a council in the king's name; and, although the Yorkist lords refused to attend, unless they came with the means of self-defence, they too were amenable to reason. The general feeling is pleasantly expressed in a letter written by a member of his household to Sir John Fastolf, which, from the mention made in it of the archbishop, is here presented to the reader.

"To my Master Fastolf, at Caristor: in haste."

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"Like it your Mastership to weet, that as for tidings, the Council is, the forenoon, at the Black Friars, for the ease of resorting of the Lords that are within the town: and, at afternoon, at the White Friars in Fleet Street, for the Lords without the town; and all things shall come to a good conclusion, with God's grace; for the king shall come hither this week, and the queen also, as some men say, and my Lords Buckingham and Stafford with her, and much people.

"My Lord of Canterbury taketh great pain upon him daily, and will write unto you the certainty of such tidings as fall: and should have done ere this time, save for that he would know an end of the matter.

"Other tidings here are none, save my Lord of Exeter is displeased that the Earl of Warwick shall keep the sea, and hath therefore received this week £1,000 of the Hanaper. The messenger was on horseback when I wrote you this bill, and therefore it was done in haste, and our Lord Jesu keep you. Written at London, the Wednesday after mid-Lent.

"And my Lord of Canterbury told me that the Frenchmen have been before you, and that ye shot many guns, and so he told all the Lords.

"I have desired him to move the Council for refreshing of the town of Yarmouth with stuff of ordnance, and guns and gunpowder, and he said he would.

"Your humble Servant,

"JOHN BOCKING.*

"LONDON, Wednesday, 15th March, 1458."

The great lords had begun to assemble in January. The Earl of Salisbury arrived on the 15th, with four-score knights and squires, and four hundred horse, and took up his abode at his residence in the City of London, called "Le Erber."† The Duke of York came on the 26th,‡ with one hundred and forty horse,

* Paston Letters, i. 155.

† Rot. Claus. 32 Henry VI. m. 8, in dorso.

‡ Fabyan, 632.

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and repaired to Baynard's Castle, which still exists in Thames Street. On the last day of January, came the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, who were lodged without Temple Bar. The Duke of Somerset was attended by two hundred horse. The Earl of Northumberland, with the Lords Egremont and Clifford, were quartered with fifteen hundred retainers in the King's Mews at Charing, where Northumberland House now stands. The Earl of Warwick was detained at Calais by contrary winds, and did not arrive till the 13th of February. Besides his English retinue, he had permission to bring with him twenty-four foreigners. His retainers, amounting to five hundred men,* were arrayed in a splendid uniform of scarlet; and on their red jackets was embroidered before and behind his badge of a white ragged staff. He resided at the Black Friars.

The king and queen were at Berkhamstead, whither they had summoned some of the judges to attend them pending the negotiations. The archbishop, who had convened some of his suffragans, and with whom, as a Lancastrian, Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, cordially acted, took up his abode in his manor of Lambeth.

The Yorkists assembled every morning at the Black Friars, where they discussed the proposals of the archbishop. The primate and his suffragans communicated the determinations of the Yorkists to the Lancastrian party, whose place of assembly was the White Friars. The result of the discussions was every evening laid

* This is the number assigned to him by Stowe, though, according to some authorities, his followers amounted to six hundred. His retinue was not likely to be larger than that of the Earl of Salisbury.

before the king and queen at Berkhamstead. The late fight at St. Albans was treated, not as an act of rebellion, but merely as a party affray. This exonerated the Yorkist leaders from the charge of high treason ; but the Lancastrian leaders, whose relatives had suffered in that affray, were bound in honour, according to the sentiments of the age, to revenge their death, unless some compensation were made such as would justify their quiescence in the eyes of the world. This was the point to which the attention of the archbishop was specially called ; and, as he was known to be a Yorkist, acting with Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, the personal friend of the king, no better mediator could be found. He succeeded in persuading both parties to acquiesce in his award. If the reader desires to see how carefully and how justly the award was made, he may be referred to Holinshed.* Every fair demand that the Lancastrians could make for disasters occurring in the late "affray at St. Albans," was met by the Yorkists. The whole transaction, indeed, reflects credit upon the Duke of York, who accepted, and on the archbishop, who devised, the terms of agreement.

The award, or agreement, was sealed with the great seal, at the king's palace at Westminster, on the 24th of March, 1458 ; and measures were taken for a solemn proclamation of it on the following day at St. Paul's.

To avoid the possibility of a collision between the followers of the various noblemen, it was determined to make the procession as short as possible. The king and queen, therefore, took up their abode at the bishop's palace. In the chapel of the palace the great lords were to assemble.

* The whole may be seen in Whethamstede, 418.

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A Court was held. The king assumed his chair of state ; and, with the usual solemnities, the archbishop placed the crown upon his head. The proud lords who had entered London "in their harness," now stood around their sovereign in the garb of peace. The archbishop went in procession to the cathedral, and was received by the dean and chapter at the great west door. The lay procession followed. Hand in hand, first walked the Duke of Somerset with the Earl of Salisbury. The Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Warwick followed. The king, crowned, with his sceptre in his hand, walked "alone in his glory." The queen was handed by the Duke of York ; and the people shouted when they saw them talking familiarly together, the royal countenance, still beautiful, being irradiated by a smile. At the west door of the cathedral the archbishop was seen mitred, his cross erect, borne by the Bishop of Rochester. He was surrounded by his suffragans *in pontificalibus*. The procession was formed. It went up the nave silently, each one moving his lips in inaudible prayer. Arrived at the high altar, they all were incensed. The king and the queen kneeled at the faldstool prepared for them. Behind them were seen prostrate all that England held of noble and renowned. All were absorbed, as it seemed, in silent prayer. High mass was sung. At the conclusion the archbishop turned towards the people. He passed a benediction on the silent, prostrate multitude—a band of brothers. A *Te Deum* was sung, in which all joined in heart, and many in voice.

That this was the happiest hour of the archbishop's life, we may be bold to say.

There are no grounds for supposing that this was all

hypocrisy. Such wholesale hypocrisy we are slow to believe. It does not follow that, because those who participated in the ceremony were soon after in deadly feud, any feud was contemplated at the time. There is much kindness in human nature, until it is extinguished by passion. All now desired peace, and a contemporary poet sang:—

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“Oure souveraigne lord kynge God kepe alwey,
The quene, and the archebishoppe of Canterbury.
And the bisshop of Wynchestre, chancellor of Anglonde,
And other that han labured to this love-day;
God preserve hem, we pray hertly,
And Londoun, for thei ful diligently
Kepten the peas in trowbel and adversité,
To bryng in reste thei labured ful truly;
Rejoise, Anglond, in concorde and unité.”*

The archbishop now expected to enjoy, as he had a right to do, a season of rest. He was prepared to perform, as we have seen, the duties of his station as a prelate; so far as he had realized what the duties of that station were. He was, however, soon summoned to take part again in public affairs. It is well known how entirely and how soon his endeavours to effect a reconciliation between the contending factions were frustrated; and we are compelled to lay the blame upon the queen.

A renewal of party warfare commenced when an attempt was made to send the Earl of Warwick to the Tower; on the pretext, that an affray between some of his retinue and the lowest menials of the Court was an act of insubordination which, if he had not organized it, had met with his connivance and sanction.

The queen, for a time, seemed to be all-powerful;

* Pol. Songs, ii. 255.

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and success appears always to have intoxicated her: her indiscretions were like the senseless reelings of an inebriate. Her measures were as arbitrary as they were impolitic. After the capture of Ludlow, she imagined the Yorkist party to be entirely crushed. She no longer listened to the conciliatory counsels of the archbishop; but, by the proceedings in the parliament at Coventry, which were directed by her, she drove the Yorkists to desperation. An Act of Attainder, it will be remembered, was in that parliament obtained against the Duke of York, with his wife and two sons; against the Earl and Countess of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, and other Yorkist leaders.

This seems like an act of madness; and we can only suppose that the queen was goaded to madness by her knowing, that, although the intention was not yet avowed, yet the idea prevailed, that, in the event of the king's death, the legitimacy of her child would be questioned. We know that much of her subsequent conduct has been attributed to this; and we can hardly suppose that she would have done as she now did without great provocation. She put herself and the king in the wrong. The great nobles, according to the opinion of the age, had a right to arm themselves, as the founder of the Lancastrian dynasty had done, to defend their rights and to secure their property. The people were indignant when they heard of native nobles attacked by "a foreyn woman," and robbed of their rights. The Yorkists acted with great precaution. They had a right to arm in self-defence, and their retainers were armed. But they did not at once attack the king's Government. With the archbishop, the first peer of the realm, they opened negotiations. They found him already inclined to

their cause, for he was justly offended at the queen's conduct: at the same time, some diplomatic skill was required in seeking to influence a man who, though a friend to their party, was both conscientious and weak in character. Bouchier in his strength, as well as in his weakness, was the very opposite of his predecessor, Archbishop Arundel, although in the two revolutions they both bore a conspicuous part.

The Yorkist leaders sought, through the instrumentality of Coppini, bishop of Terni, to overcome the scruples of loyalty to Henry which still lingered in Bouchier's soul, and prevented him from approving extreme measures. The Bishop of Terni was in frequent communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was the legate of Pope Pius II. to the Court of Henry. He had come to England to persuade the king to send an embassy to a congress of princes, to be summoned by the pope to meet on the 1st of June; with the object of organizing a defence of the Christian faith against the Turks, and "other miscreants;" a subject on which we have already enlarged.

Upon this subject, as we have seen, the archbishop was much interested; and he had now determined to bring it before the Privy Council on the 2d of April. But, owing to the disordered state of the country, nothing was eventually done to effect the object of the legate.*

The Bishop of Terni, however, seeing where the strength of the country lay, had sold himself to the

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* Acts of Privy Council, vi. 298. At this Council a letter was addressed, in the name of the king, to the Grand Master of Rhodes, refusing permission to the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem to attend a meeting of the chapter of their Order.

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enemies of the Government. He thus became the channel of communication between the Yorkists and the primate.*

It may be doubted whether the Yorkist leaders had even yet determined on effecting a change of dynasty. It is certain, that, if this were their intention, such proposal was not made to Bouchier.

They published a manifesto, addressed to the archbishop and the Commons of England, in which they expressed their devoted loyalty to the king. They declared it to be their sole desire to be admitted into "his noble presence," in order that they might make known to him the grievances of the church and the realm at home; and the losses and disgraces to which the country was exposed abroad, through the mismanagement of his Government.†

It was reported, and there was truth in the report, through the agents of the Yorkist party, that the king had disapproved of the Act of Attainder; and that he was, in fact, only a prisoner in the hands of a faction. In the meantime the queen's party, which seems to have been demented, were aiding the cause of the Yorkists by their tyranny and oppression. The Earl of Wiltshire appeared in Kent, where he exacted a loan from all the great people and the moneyed men, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. He named the sum which each man was to give, and promised them repayment out of the forfeited property of the Yorkist nobles. He had acted, in other places, in a similar

* Lingard, iv. 61.

† The manifesto, which is very interesting, is given at length in *The English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II. &c.*, p. 86. Their object was evidently to obtain possession of the king's person, that they might bend him to their will.

manner, accusing all who refused to meet his demand, whatever it might be, of being Yorkists, and consequently punishing them as traitors.

The whole country was in alarm. The Yorkist leaders had gone to the Continent to concert measures with the Earl of Warwick ; who, by some unaccountable oversight on the part of the Government, had been permitted to retain the command of the fleet and the government of Calais. With them the archbishop and others, thoroughly disgusted by the violence of the Government, opened a communication. The people of Canterbury watched the movements of the archbishop with intense anxiety. His liveried servants were armed, and he was surrounded by an increased retinue all in harness. It was evident, that he apprehended danger, and was preparing for some great event. It was early in June that he left his palace in great state, at the head, as it were, of a little army. He proceeded to Sandwich. On the 5th of June, a navy was descried in the offing. There was not any doubt as to the intentions of the navy as it approached the coast ; for the fleet, as we have just remarked, was under the command of the Yorkists. Amidst the shouts of an applauding multitude, the archiepiscopal armament was ordered to the shore. The archbishop followed. The cross of Canterbury was borne before him, and it was only so borne on great occasions. In his pontificals he stood just above the place where the comers would land. He had, by his presence, sanctified the proceedings of the day ; and when Salisbury and Warwick, and the other Yorkist nobles landed, each bent the knee, and signing in the air the sign of the cross, the archbishop poured down upon them his blessing. Deafening shouts from the

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people applauded the act; and gave a welcome to those who had come, true-hearted Englishmen, to deliver them from the domination of the foreign woman.

The archbishop attended the earls in their triumphant march to London. Kent supplied them with an army of two thousand men; and hundreds were added to it in every county through which they passed. Every Englishman, through constant practice at the butts, was as good a marksman with his bow as is a modern volunteer with his rifle; and there were many of them trained to military discipline. But we are concerned with the archbishop, and are to observe that, associated with him, throughout the march, was the papal legate Coppini, bishop of Terni. From this time, we mark a change in the principles of Bouchier. The legate was a man of the world. He saw, as we have before remarked, that in the contest between the two factions which now divided England, the Yorkists were likely to win the day. To them he attached himself, and drew closer the ties which bound the archbishop to the party. He did a service of great importance to himself. The Yorkist party, with the archbishop at their head, had inherited the policy of "the good Duke of Gloucester"—the policy of upholding the supremacy of the councils, instead of the supremacy of the pope, and the independence of the national church. The legate taught the Yorkist party the policy of allying itself with the pope; and between the archbishop and the papal court friendly relations were soon after established, the result of which we shall see hereafter. At present, we must attend the archbishop to London.

The insurrectionary army entered London, amidst the plaudits of the citizens, on the 2d of July, 1460.

The archbishop arranged with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, to convene a convocation of his clergy at St. Paul's. At this convocation, he invited the two earls and the civic authorities to attend. An assembly was thus formed, which was the nearest approach to a parliament that could be extemporized. It was a convention ; a council, summoned on his own responsibility, by the first peer of the realm. It was a revolutionary act ; but the people were with the archbishop ; and among the people of England there is an attachment to legal forms ; or, when these cannot be observed, they desire an approximation to them as near as circumstances will permit. To invest the meeting with importance, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, himself a Plantagenet, walked in solemn procession through the streets of London ; and wherever he appeared, as he passed by, the people knelt, and first on one side, then on the other, he waved his benediction.

At the cathedral he was received by the dean and chapter, and was escorted to a chair of state in front of the altar. The distant shouts of the people declared, that the city was in accordance with the church, and had determined to make the Kentish insurrection a national movement. The convocation was formally opened ; and the clank of armour was heard upon the pavement as the earls, having entered the cathedral, passed up the nave. They knelt before the primate, and he, taking in his hand the sacred cross of Canterbury, called upon them to make oath of allegiance to King Henry VI. ; and to take God to witness, that for the king's person they had ever true faith, willing no more hurt to him than to their own persons. They swore ; and the response of the great congregation confirmed the oath. Then the earls stated their grievances, and

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declared their intentions. Alluding to the simplicity of the king, they affirmed, that he was constantly deceived by the insatiable covetousness and malice of "false brought-of-nought" persons, who daily informed him that evil is good and good evil.* The false counsellors, they affirmed, led the king to violate his coronation oath, to transgress the law, and oppress the people. They had destroyed "the good Duke of Gloucester," and supported Suffolk in his traitorous designs against the country. The earls themselves had been unjustly attainted and banished the realm. Though denounced by the queen's party as traitors and rebels, they had only come to assert the rights of the people, and to vindicate their own honour, which things they were determined to do, or else to die in the field.

The Earl of Salisbury was appointed ruler of the city; and the royalists were compelled to take refuge in the Tower, which was placed in a state of siege.

Under these circumstances, it was attempted to open communications with the king's party then at Coventry; but the report reached London that, instead of preparing to treat with rebels, as she regarded them, the queen was making ready for battle. The royal forces had rallied round the king. The king had been removed to Northampton. There the soldiers were harangued by the queen, who was beginning to show the spirit of an Amazon. She met the crisis, indeed, as a heroine; and her forces, under the command of Somerset and Buckingham, were the more formidable from the superiority of their artillery. The Yorkists were inclined to wait for the arrival of the Duke of York from Ireland. But the Earl of Warwick was reputed to be the greatest commander, as he was

* Chron. of White Rose. Harleian MSS. 543.

certainly at this time the most popular noble in the land; and he was now urged on to immediate action by the impetuosity of a youth, who soon showed that he possessed far more than Warwick those many and wonderful intellectual powers which, in combination with self-possession, distinguish the true general from the mere soldier. He saw that speed in execution was half the battle.

It was determined to march to Northampton. Warwick placed himself at the head of the forces. Salisbury was left to protect the city from the royalists, who were preparing to assail them from the Tower.

The archbishop, who acted with perfect good faith throughout these trying events, determined to attend the troops, for the purpose, if possible, of effecting a reconciliation between the contending factions. He did not possess the sagacity of a far-seeing politician or much knowledge of human nature; but he was evidently, though a weak, yet a single-hearted man. He saw the government misgoverned; he sympathised with the party now persecuted; he had recourse to the measures then considered legitimate for a change of ministry. He knew, that the king was a mere puppet; but he also knew that the king's name was a tower of strength to those, who possessed the strings by which the puppet might be moved. He was ready to concur in any measures: first, such as might obtain for the Yorkists a free admission to the Council from which they were now expelled; or such as, secondly, might place the king in their hands. To the king himself he thought himself loyal; and we may infer, from the oath they had just taken, that the confederate lords were not, at this time, contemplating any change of dynasty. One exception to this state-

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ment must be made : that of the noble youth who, in the flush of manhood, of beauty, and of ambition, had already, as his father's representative, given evidence that he was born to rule. The Earl of March had no doubt made up his mind, that whether his father succeeded or not, his father's son should sit upon the throne of England.

When the army of Warwick had taken position in front of the royal encampment at Northampton, the earl was persuaded by the archbishop to send a proposal of peace to the king. But the archbishop, though bent upon peace, did not act, in this instance, with the discretion or sound judgment which he had before displayed. He ought to have disconnected himself from all party combinations ; and, as primate of all England, attended by as many of his suffragans as a hasty summons could reach, have approached the royalists in a solemn religious procession. When the earls acquiesced in the proposal that he should act as peace-maker, he was, indeed, attended by several of his suffragans. But, after what had lately occurred at Coventry, they felt the service to be a service of danger ; and it was not considered safe, that the primate, who had marched at the head of the insurgents, should place himself in the power of the enemy. It was determined, therefore, that although the bishops should be sent by the earls as messengers of peace, they should go, not in their capacity of prelates, but as ambassadors. This was almost an insult to the royalists ; for it seemed to imply a disregard, on their part, of the sacred character of the clergy.

The right reverend ambassadors went under a military escort ; and, at the entrance of the Lancastrian camp, their trumpets sounded to a parley. They

marched to the royal tent. The king, looking calm and unconcerned, scarcely comprehended what was taking place. He was, nevertheless, seated on a chair of state. He was surrounded by his Court. The Duke of Buckingham was seen standing at his right hand, prepared to speak in the name of his royal master. The prelates made obeisance to the king, and they then proceeded, through their spokesman, to entreat his highness to admit the earls to an audience, in order that they might state their case and plead their cause. Then, forgetting their character of ambassadors, and knowing the piety of the king, they proceeded, as ministers of the Gospel, to implore him to make this concession to the earls; and so to avoid the effusion of Christian blood.

The king was silent. The Duke of Buckingham, pointing to their military escort, remarked sarcastically, "Ye come not as bishops, to treat of peace, but as men of arms." They replied, "We thus come, for surety of our persons, for they that be about the king are not our friends."

The king was still silent. There was no discussion, but the Duke of Buckingham said sternly: "Forsooth, the Earl of Warwick shall *not* come into the king's presence; or if he do come, he shall die."

It is certainly to the credit of the Yorkists, that, although thus haughtily repulsed, not by the king himself, but by one of those ministers whose deposition they desired, they still pleaded for peace. The Earl of Warwick sent a herald to say that, if hostages were given for his security, the Earl of Warwick would go unattended, or as the chancellor has it, "naked," into the royal presence.* He was refused.

* English Chron. 96.

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A third time a messenger was sent to announce, that unless the earl were admitted to an audience with the king before two o'clock in the afternoon, he would be prepared to die in the field.

The archbishop again interposed. He selected to send, with secret instructions to the king, a bishop who had not committed himself to the Yorkist side, though he had obeyed the summons of his Metropolitan. The prelate was not faithful to his trust, and was won over to her cause by the queen. The king could be hardly made to understand what he was required to do; and the prelate advised him to fight. The king, always for peace, had sufficient power of will left to refuse to issue his commands for a battle. His confessor, the Bishop of Hereford, a White friar, interposed to explain to his mind, almost childish, that it was his duty to give orders for an attack upon the rebels. A mission of peace to the royalist camp was sent in the name of the Commons of England, but all in vain. The queen and her counsellors felt confident of victory; and at two o'clock on the 10th of July, 1460, the battle of Northampton began, and how it ended every one knows.

The queen, alarmed for her child's safety, had fled; leaving her husband to the care of his loyal subjects. The Earls of Egremont, of Beaumont, and of Shrewsbury—the Talbot of that age, as in every age, loyal to the last,—had fallen in fight. The king was found, forsaken by all, sitting in his tent, with his bodily strength apparently undiminished; but with a mind incapable of understanding that all was lost; and when his captors did him homage, he supposed that all was right.

The archbishop was in attendance upon the king at

Northampton ; and remained there three days for rest and refreshment. He accompanied the king to London, when Henry appeared at the head of the army, bearing still the outward semblance of royalty. He was welcomed as one whom a loyal people had rescued from the hands of the enemy. The primate received him at St. Paul's, whither he had come in regal pomp ; the Earl of Warwick riding before him, bareheaded, and carrying the sword of state. A *Te Deum* was sung. The archbishop saw the king lodged in the palace of the Bishop of London, until the royal palace was ready for his reception.

On the 25th of July, George Nevil, then Bishop of Exeter, was appointed chancellor, and by him, in the name of Henry VI., parliament was opened on the 7th of October.

A change in the policy of the Yorkist party had now been determined upon, and in this change the archbishop was not consulted. It would not have received his sanction or support. The ascendancy of the young Earl of March over his father's mind became manifest, when his father asserted his intention to claim the crown as his *de jure*. He arrived from Dublin soon after the opening of parliament. He could not enter London until his attainder was repealed ; and then he met with an enthusiastic reception. The Earl of March had determined to effect a *coup d'état* by a *coup de théâtre*. The first thing was, to alarm the king and his friends. A mob was sent down to Westminster ; and was so uproarious that it was thought expedient to remove the king to the queen's apartments. The archbishop, when he heard of the proceedings, felt that to him the post of danger was at this time the post of honour. He crossed over

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from Lambeth, and was in attendance upon his royal master. He had scarcely reached the palace, when he received intelligence that the Duke of York was approaching Westminster with a splendid retinue, armed and mounted, banners flying, trumpets sounding, a sword of state carried before him. He was surrounded by the trappings of royalty. The archbishop having taken his station at the king's right hand, was prepared, when the duke should approach, to give that answer to the address he expected, which it became the king to give to his royal cousin. He waited for the coming of the duke, but he waited in vain. The duke, having dismounted, proceeded immediately to the Painted Chamber, where the House was assembled. The members of parliament, if not entirely taken by surprise, felt indignant when one of their body stood before them in his harness, while the rest were unarmed.

The duke, with solemn step and slow, preceded by the sword of state, walked up the chamber until he reached the throne. He ascended the steps. On the throne itself he laid his hand. He turned to the lords. He looked at them with a stern, inquiring gaze. He seemed to be expecting some token of encouragement. Throughout the assembly there was a dead silence. He removed his hand. He made as though he were about to descend the steps. There was a shout of applause. At that very moment, the doors of the chamber were thrown open; the cross-bearer of the archbishop appeared. The primate himself followed. He made a reverence to the duke, and, in a tone which expressed surprise mingled with indignation that the duke had not first performed his *devoirs* to his sovereign, he said, "Will not my lord of York go and pay his respects to the king?"

One Plantagenet was speaking to another. The duke, angry and disappointed at the reception he had met with from the peers, answered sulkily, "I know no man to whom I owe that title." He was conscious, that the sense of the House was with the archbishop; and he followed, as the primate led the way from the painted chamber. When he left the House, however, the cheers of the multitude, who probably had been led to expect a different result, revived his spirits; and instead of waiting upon the king, he gave orders that the king's apartments should be prepared for himself.*

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The Duke of York certainly does not shine on this occasion. He had evidently before his mind, the precedent of the revolution by which the house of Lancaster was placed upon the throne. But he forgot that Richard was unpopular and despised; whereas Henry VI. was still beloved and pitied. The public rancour was not against the king, but against the queen. The king had recovered, in a surprising manner, from his first attack; and there appeared no reason why he should not recover now. This was a malady the nature of which had not been observed by the physicians. The Yorkists themselves had been profuse in their protestations of loyalty. Wyrcester remarks, that only a very few lords gave countenance to the Duke of York in his present proceedings; and Whethamstede adds, that every state and grade, of what-

* In all this narrative I have consulted William of Wyrcester, 483; Wethamstede, 484; Polydore Vergil, 107; the Author of the English Chronicle, 99; the Continuator of Croyland, and other writers contemporary, or nearly so, who, disagreeing in detail, agree in their general statements, and I have endeavoured to harmonize them.

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ever age or sex, order or condition, began to murmur against the duke, for the gratuitous insults he had offered to the kind, gentle, courteous, much-loved king.

Richard, duke of York, perceived his mistake. He had been a cautious politician hitherto; and was, no doubt, instigated to his present course of conduct, as I have before suggested, by the young Earl of March; whose power of influencing others already marked him as a man of genius. Nevertheless, the claim to the crown had been made, and from his pretensions the duke could not recede. He had manifested his deference to parliament, and he had a right to demand of parliament that his claim to the throne, by right of descent, should be investigated and admitted.

As Bouchier did not take a prominent part in the discussions of this parliament, it does not fall within my scope to say more than that he acquiesced in the arrangements which were finally made, and which satisfied all moderate men. It was resolved that the king should not be disturbed in his possession of the throne, but that the Duke of York should be his heir. Here the national affection for the king was respected; the hatred towards the queen indulged. I will only remark, that the reader who shall peruse the Rolls of Parliament, cannot fail to be impressed with a sense of the legislative ability displayed by our ancestors throughout the transaction. But while it is difficult to say what other course could have been pursued except that which suggested itself to the wisdom of parliament, yet this compromise was, in fact, the commencement of the civil war. The battle was no longer to be fought to displace a party, but the prize contended for was the Crown itself. It is not to be supposed that Margaret, "a foreign woman," who

cared not for England, would, for the sake of peace, acquiesce in an arrangement which deprived her idolized son of a throne.

The case was a simple one. There was a king *de jure*, if the rights of primogeniture were admitted; and there was a king *de facto*. Let the king *de facto* reign, and let the king *de jure* succeed him. It was merely cruelty to attempt to bastardize the son of Margaret, and it was this which perverted a lovely woman into a fury.

The readiness with which the king consented to the arrangement which thus changed the dynasty, is sufficient to show how completely his mind was gone. The fact was publicly proclaimed, when the Duke of York was named not only as the heir to the throne, but as the Lord Protector of the realm, with a salary of ten thousand a year. He was permitted to be king in all but the name. If the king were not incompetent, why should a regent be appointed? If he were not imbecile, how can we account for his submission, without struggle or remonstrance, to a measure which was tantamount to his deposition?

It is necessary to allude to this subject, that we may understand the position of Bouchier. His present intercourse with the king persuaded him that his case was hopeless. The archbishop had done his duty. He had protected the weak, and he now retired into private life, and we hear nothing of him as a politician until he was summoned to London to officiate at the coronation of Edward IV.

He would not consent to the deposition of Henry when Richard, duke of York, aspired to the crown; and yet he took his full share in the revolution which was soon after effected under Richard's son. There

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was no real inconsistency in his conduct, if the circumstances of the case are duly considered. While the Duke of York was not only acknowledged to be heir to the throne, but was also regent, the deposition of Henry was not a necessity. The patriotic party gained strength by acting in the king's name. But it was a very different thing when, after the second battle of St. Albans, Henry fell back into the hands of the queen. The king's name became, as we have said, a tower of strength to the "foreign woman;" and how she could use her power was clearly foreshown by the terrible vengeance she took upon her enemies after the battle of Wakefield. If King Henry reigned, Queen Margaret would rule; and, after her conduct in Yorkshire, it is not wonderful that she should be regarded as a she wolf; and that any measure should be considered lawful which deprived her of her fangs.

The state of the country was now so deplorable, that all persons who were not blinded by party rage, called for the formation of a strong Government; and the question lay between a powerful, energetic youth, surrounded by wise counsellors,—or an infirm man sinking fast into idiocy, a tool in the hands of a woman of masculine mind and fascinating manners, but who never could forgive; who was surrounded by advisers considered despicable as politicians, and known to be implacable as enemies.* Under such a state of affairs, many Lancastrians were already becoming Yorkists. The very monks of Croyland, who in the year of 1460, were staunch Lancastrians, had, before that year had come to a close, become convinced

* Whether, when she formed an alliance with the Earl of Warwick, she really forgave him, comes under consideration in the Life of Morton.

that to uphold any longer the Lancastrian cause was to betray the interests of their country.

The murder of the Duke of York caused alarm to the very people, who, without being attached to his person, expected to find in him what the name of his office indicated,—a Protector. In the lawlessness of the times, beggars and miscreants, we are told, like so many mice rushing out from their holes, gave themselves up to spoil and rapine, without regard to place or person. Farmyards were plundered; homesteads were burnt; and property was insecure wherever the royal army appeared. The clergy complained not only of the robbery of churches, but of wilful and wanton sacrilege. Murders were committed in churchyards, and even in churches.* Instead of showing a determination to exercise military discipline for the suppression of crime, the unfortunate queen was unable to prevent her troops from being the foremost in all that related to violence, robbery, and wrong. It has been truly said, that the battle of St. Albans, though gained by the queen's party, nevertheless cost Henry his throne. The northmen, of whom her army was composed, demanded, as their right, the privilege of plundering all places south of the Trent. Wherever they went, in the rural districts, the garden was turned into a wilderness. In the towns the warehouses were plundered; the women were insulted. No wonder, therefore, that London closed its gates upon the queen, and opened them to young Edward. For Edward proclaimed protection to the merchant; and declared that he made war only upon an aristocratic faction abetting the woman, through whose marriage with the king, France had been lost to England.

* Croyland Chronicle, 422.

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With the events of the 4th of March, 1461, we are not concerned. The archbishop was not present, and Edward was not crowned. That young Edward should have ridden in state to Westminster, that he should have taken his seat upon King Henry's throne; and that he should have caused himself to be proclaimed king before he had been anointed by the archbishop,—these things were sufficient to show that the times were changed. The Norman kings, and the first kings of the Plantagenet dynasty, had not ventured to call themselves kings, until they had received the sacred unction,—but the regnal years of Edward are dated not from the day of his coronation, but from the 4th of March, 1461.

The difficulty with reference to a transfer of his allegiance, which afterwards perplexed Sancroft, was not likely to present itself to the mind of Bouchier. He would bring feudal notions to bear upon the subject. Protection and service were regarded as reciprocal. Service was rendered on the ground of protection being extended to the servant. If protection was withheld, service might be withdrawn. But, on the other hand, it is difficult to understand how Bouchier could reconcile it to his conscience to anoint Edward king, while Henry, the anointed of the Lord, was still living. He may have felt that, when the king could not, and when the queen, who assumed to act in the king's name, would not protect the subject, the people had a right to renounce their oath of fealty, and to choose for a king the man who could protect them. Certain it is, the more closely we study the history of our country, that while we find the loyalty of the English to the sovereign exhibited under the most adverse circumstances, the loyalty was

not that which the Jacobites regarded as such. The interests of the country were the first concern; and a loyalty incompatible with those interests, might be regarded as treason against the State.

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Whatever the difficulties may have been, if any difficulties there were, which presented themselves to the mind of Archbishop Bouchier, he had overcome them before the 29th of June, 1461. On that day he crowned Edward IV. and presented him to the people as the king undoubted of this realm. On the bloody field of Towton, the hopes of the Lancastrians were, as it was then thought, for ever extinguished; and Edward, with a severity perhaps unavoidable, attainted their persons and confiscated their estates. It was hard to confiscate the estates of those who had fought for the king *de facto*, but Edward had no other means of rewarding his partizans; and while he crippled his enemies, he strengthened the hands of his adherents, by assigning to them the strongholds by which the country was garrisoned. In the honours and emoluments now plentifully bestowed and distributed, the family of the archbishop had an ample share. Lord Bouchier, Count of Ewe in Normandy,* Baron and Viscount Bouchier in England, a Knight of the Garter, was, the day after the consecration of Edward, created Earl of Essex.

It is stated by Parker, that King Edward was publicly married by the archbishop in Westminster Abbey to Elizabeth Wydville.† How this marriage

* Hearne's Fragment.

† Parker, 440. There is no notice of the marriage in Bouchier's MS. Register at Lambeth. Parker's authority is a MS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; MS. cxiv., written by John Stone, whom Parker calls Uton.

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is to be reconciled with the undisputed fact of a previous marriage in private, or what hypothetical form was adopted on the occasion, remains to be discovered. The sacrament of marriage could not have been repeated; and Elizabeth was far too cautious to have accepted for a marriage a mere civil contract, which might have been easily repudiated at the pleasure of the royal libertine to whom she was united. Her marriage was sanctioned as canonical by implication, when the archbishop, by officiating at her coronation, on the 26th of May, 1465, recognised her as the wife of his sovereign. That some irregularities, some mystery attended the circumstances of this marriage, is sufficiently proved by the conduct of Richard III. when he attempted to attach the brand of illegitimacy to the children of Elizabeth Wydville.

Except on important occasions and when his attendance as primate was officially required, Bouchier, after the battle of Northampton, ceased, as we have said, to take an interest in public affairs. He chiefly occupied his mind in the discharge of his episcopal duties, or in those domestic enjoyments of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter. In the mean time Bouchier's feelings, with respect to the papacy, had, through the influence of the crafty and unprincipled legate Coppini,* undergone a change. The world, weary of controversy, had permitted the principle of national independence, asserted by the councils, to remain undeveloped; and, consequently, the Ultramontane dogma of Martin V.—silently assumed, rather than vehemently enforced—had obtained its footing in the Church. The councils had opposed the papal supre-

* Lingard says that being accredited to Henry VI. "he sold himself to the king's enemies."

macy ; and yet they had not denied, that to the pope as *primus inter pares*, and to the papal see as being the last court of appeal, great prerogatives pertained. It was easy, in the absence of controversy, to prevail upon those, who were willing to concede much for the sake of peace, gradually to acquiesce in the exercise of powers, which imperceptibly involved a principle which, if roughly stated, they would have opposed.

In the year 1464, Pope Paul II., immediately after his coronation, is said to have nominated Thomas Bouchier, among others, a cardinal presbyter, under the title of St. Cyriacus in Thermis. But it is quite certain, that Bouchier did not assume that title till some time afterwards. It will be remembered that the year 1464 was a troublesome year ; and Bouchier probably would be unwilling to add to the difficulties of King Edward's government. The appointment of an English bishop to a cardinalate had always been unpopular ; and Bouchier could not tell, beforehand, that this feeling had worn off, and that the appointment would be received as a thing indifferent.* He would be unwilling to involve King Edward in any act of unpopularity ; and it could only be through the king's permission, or rather solicitation, that the red hat could be received. We have already seen that, by the common law of England, the see of Canterbury would have become *ipso facto* vacant, on Bouchier's nomination as cardinal, unless he had previously obtained the royal consent. The royal consent, it appears, was given in 1465, when Edward solicited the pope to create Bouchier a cardinal. He appreciated the delicacy of the archbishop in declining the

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* The old saying was, that "It was never merry in England since Cardinals came in."

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dignity in the preceding year, and became himself a suppliant to the pope in the usual form in the year following; although in doing so he violated the laws of the land.*

In 1472, Sixtus IV. notified to King Edward that to the royal request he had acceded; and thus both the realm and the Church of England sent in their

* I make this conjecture for the following reasons: the Register in Lambeth of this date is so imperfect, that it is impossible from that source to obtain the date of Bouchier's cardinalate. Authorities differ in their statements. Bouchier was certainly not a cardinal before the year 1464. This the documents in the Lambeth Registry clearly prove. He appears in Council on the 10th of September, 1467, simply as archbishop (see *Fœdera* of that date). The first time he is spoken of as cardinal in the Council, is in November, 1473 (see *Rot. Parl.* vi. 3). On consulting Ciaconius, ii. 1096, 1097, we find the cardinals, of whom Bouchier was one, renunciate by the pope on Friday, Sept. 16, 1467, and published the following day. This he took from the records of the Vatican, but Ciaconius himself fixed it for 1464. In that year I suppose Paul to have nominated, or signified his intention to nominate, Bouchier, but delayed the publication. Sixtus was crowned in 1470, and signified his readiness to send the red hat, but some delay may have again occurred.

MSS. c.c.c.c. 170 contains the supplication of Edward IV. to the pope to send a red hat to Cardinal Bouchier:—

“ART. 170.—Supplication of Edw. IV. for Bouchier to be made cardinal. Aug. 5, 1465.

„ 171.—*Epistola papæ ad regem quod brevi missurus est capellum cardinalatus ad præfatum archiepiscopum.* Data Jun. 27, 1469.

„ 199.—*Ceremonia pilei rubri missi ad Card. Bouchier.* p. 242.

„ 200.—*Epistola Sixti IV. ad Edw. IV. quod miserat pileum rubrum ad Card. Cant. D. 12 Feb. 1472.*

„ 202.—*Ep. Sixti IV. ad Card. Cant. quando pileum ei misit.* Data 16 Feb. 1472.”

This seems to settle the matter. He was made cardinal Sep. 18, 1467, the red hat was not sent until Feb. 16, 1473 *n.s.*

adhesion to the new papal system. Bouchier received the red hat with great solemnity and display, on the 31st of May, at Lambeth. There were present the archbishop's newly-appointed suffragan, Henry, titular bishop of Joppa, who was also rector of Lambeth. He, together with the prior of Christ Church and the archdeacon, represented Canterbury. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, being Lord Chancellor—Stillington *

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* Robert Stillington was the son of John Stillington, and was probably born at Nether Acaster, near York. In that city one of his progenitors was bailiff in 1388. He was educated at All Souls' College, Oxford, and took the degree of doctor in both laws. His first ecclesiastical preferment was a canonry in the cathedral of Wells in 1445, of which cathedral he became treasurer in 1447. In 1448 he was Rector of St. Michael, Ouse Bridge, in York. He was Archdeacon of Taunton in 1450, and a Canon of York in 1451. In the year 1458 he filled the important post of Dean of St. Martin's, in London. He was Archdeacon of Berks in 1463, and of Wells in 1465. On the 16th of May, 1466, at York House, Westminster, he was consecrated to the see of Bath and Wells. He was a violent partizan of the House of York, and was indebted to the Yorkists for all his preferments. At the close of the reign of Henry VI., through the same interest, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was appointed Lord Chancellor on the 20th of June, 1467, and retained the great seal for six years, with the exception of the few months of the counter-revolution under Warwick. When the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., escaped from England, and took refuge in the territories of the Duke of Britany, he was sent to demand the surrender of the earl. He seems to have been employed in all the secret transactions of the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. By those who believe that Edward IV. was married to the Lady Eleanor Butler, it is supposed, as Richard asserted, that Stillington officiated on the occasion. It is certain, that when Richard bastardized the children of Edward, he found Stillington prepared in every possible way to abet his proceedings. On the accession of Henry VII. he was imprisoned at York; but he had been the depository of so many state secrets that they thought it expedient not to provoke him too far, and before the end of the year Stillington was pardoned. He

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—though in an infirm state of health, made a point of attending. There were invited many knights and nobles, together with the leading citizens of London. The company proceeded to the chapel when the Mass *de Spiritu Sancto* was sung by the Bishop of Winchester, Waynfleet, who placed the red hat on the cardinal's head. King Edward had, just before this, incurred deep obligations to the archbishop. Bouchier proved himself to be a friend indeed, by rendering him assistance in a time of need.

During the counter-revolution, if we may so call it, of 1470, the archbishop was active in reconciling friends; many of whom had been alienated from the Yorkist cause, through the folly of the silly woman whom Edward had selected for his wife; and through the want of common discretion evinced by her ambitious relations. Soon after the intelligence had reached him of Edward having landed at Ravenspur, and of his marching to the south, the archbishop was also informed of the reaction, which had taken place in London, effected unintentionally by the zealous unwisdom of George Neville, archbishop of York; who had been appointed by Warwick to maintain his cause in the metropolis.

Archbishop Neville was aware of the pity which was

was deprived of the deanery of St. Martin's, which he held *in commendam* with his bishopric; and the act that ousted him speaks of "the horrible and heinous offences imagined and done by him against the king." His love of intrigue was, however, incurable. He was implicated in the treason of Lambert Simnel, and being committed to the castle at Windsor, he died there, a prisoner, in 1491, leaving behind him a bad character as a man, as well as a politician. He did one good thing in his life: he founded the chapel of St. Andrew at Acaster, or Nether Acaster.—Cassan. Wharton. Drake's Eboracum. See Foss, iv. 455, where the original authorities are given.

very generally felt for the deposed King Henry who had been long excluded from public view, and of whose incapacity people in general were becoming incredulous. He sought to convert this into an enthusiasm for the ill-used monarch by exhibiting him to the public. He paraded King Henry through the streets of London. But when the Londoners looked upon the idiotic countenance of the once beloved but now unfortunate king, oppressed by the royal robes which had been piled upon him, and with an unmeaning smile upon his face, taking notice of nothing, they perceived, at once, that he was incapable of discharging the duties of a king, at a time when a king was expected to rule as well as to reign. While Henry was secluded from public view, the recollection of his piety, his gentleness, his courtesy, his many virtues, influenced many good men to take part in the insurrection, and to avenge his wrongs. But they perceived now that the alternative was, either the energetic reign of a popular native prince, or the grinding oppression of a revengeful "foreign woman," whose cause Warwick had suddenly, and no one could guess why, espoused.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury was at Lambeth, watching the proceedings of his brother of York. He received intelligence from the camp of Edward, and was informed that the king was determined to march straight upon the metropolis. The primate placed himself in communication with the city authorities, and found them prepared to render assistance. Edward was personally one of the most popular of men, and was well known in the city; the populace had already exhibited symptoms of a reactionary spirit. All was now arranged. The people were to be taken by surprise.

* In the life of Morton we shall hear more of this insinuation.

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A *coup de théâtre* was the fashion of the age. The first thing seen was the archiepiscopal barge dropping down to London Bridge. At London Bridge the archbishop took horse. The cross of Canterbury was carried before him. At St. Paul's Cathedral he was received by the dean and chapter. All the clergy, of all ranks, hastened to the cathedral. The west door was thrown open, and the archbishop, in his pontificals, was seen to be waiting ; but for whom,—nothing was said, though much was surmised. The people were not, however, left long to their conjectures. Deafening shouts were heard in the distance. It was rumoured that King Edward had arrived at the city gates. The shouts came nearer and nearer. As had been agreed with the archbishop, the magistrates had opened the city gates to the king. He rode, the handsomest man in England, proudly on his war-horse, as in triumph : banners flying, trumpets sounding, mob shouting.

Arrived at the cathedral, King Edward dismounted. The multitude was awed into silence, as they saw the proud king on bended knee, lowering his head beneath the hand of the archbishop. He was receiving the solemn benediction from the hand of him who had placed the crown upon his head ; and through that benediction he was regarded as now reinstated in his kingdom.

Immediately the king was seen again on horseback, and galloping to Westminster. Thither, when the Lancastrians had possession of the city, the queen had fled for sanctuary ; and there, in sanctuary, she presented to her husband his newborn son and heir—now the child of joy, soon to be the child of misery. Edward immediately returned into the city. It was the Holy Week ; but the fast was converted into a festival. The king

took up his abode at the bishop's palace. Here the archbishop and the Earl of Essex gave him welcome; and, we are told, "they refreshed themselves all the Thursday and Good Friday." They were not particular in those days, when dispensations could be easily sought and granted. On Easter Eve, the king again asked the archbishop's blessing; and, at the head of seven thousand men, he marched out of London to keep a bloody Easter-day at Barnet.

When the battle had been fought and won, the king returned to London; and, says the chronicler, he rode straight to St. Paul's, where all the Yorkist lords, spiritual and temporal, the knights and the city authorities, assisted at a grand *Te Deum*.

Again the archbishop retired from political life. After the decisive battle of Tewkesbury, the only employment which Bouchier undertook as a statesman was to act as ambassador at the peace of Picquigny. Edward required the services on that occasion of the cardinal archbishop, as some high dignitaries of the Gallican Church appeared on the side of the French. Bouchier incurred the honourable censure which Philip de Commines passes generally on English diplomatists; that they are accustomed to act with too much ingenuousness and straightforwardness, and not with the cunning and policy for which he praises the French.*

Our historians have very generally represented the peace of Picquigny as reflecting disgrace upon England and her king. But if we fairly consider the case, we may be induced to form a different estimate of the transaction. Edward, though as a man profligate and avaricious, was one of the greatest of the monarchs who ruled as well as reigned in England. He was a

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* Philip de Commines, bk. iv. c. 7.

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consummate general, and a wary statesman. He engaged in a war with France for a threefold purpose:—to obtain popularity; for, through the spoils of war, the strong and idle were always expecting to make a fortune; he desired to find employment for the active spirits who had taken part in the civil wars of England; and it was thus that he could best secure the parliamentary grants of which he stood greatly in need. He formed alliances which might fairly make him confident of success. His allies proved false. When his allies forsook him, he saw, that it would be impossible for him, unaided by foreign alliance, to expect to reconquer France, now that the French provinces had been consolidated—now that a national feeling had been formed, strong as that which animated England itself. He knew that Lewis, however, had such a horror of war that he would pay almost any price for peace; and that price he determined to make him pay. Besides the transactions which took place between the two kings, the statesmen, the soldiers, and the nobles of England received large sums of money from Lewis; some of them pensions. They had entered France, expecting to realize large fortunes, some by the spoils of war, others by the ransom of prisoners. Unless these persons, appetent of money more than of fame, were satisfied as well as the king, they would not consent to the peace. All that was done with reference to the payments made by Lewis to the English nobles and statesmen, was done openly; and their boast, when they returned to England, was, that they had spoiled the French, though not in the field of battle, yet by the strong arm which, except for certain considerations would have desolated the country they had invaded. The statesmen and courtiers of Edward did not receive

bribes clandestinely; with the king's consent they received from the French king their share of that tribute, for such it was, that France now paid to England.

Lewis was a man ungenerous and illiberal, always taking a low view of things; and he calculated that it cost less to drive his enemies from the land by offering them donations and pensions, than it would have cost him to pay for an army. He acted on the principle—

*Δῶρα θεοῦς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδολοῦς βασιλῆας.**

One of the results of this treaty gave entire satisfaction to Bouchier. The French king at length consented to pay a ransom for Queen Margaret, and she was permitted for ever to quit a country where her many faults were long remembered and her virtues soon forgotten.†

* This subject will come unto our notice in the life of Morton.

† The historians on the Lancastrian side represent Edward's government as having treated Queen Margaret with undue severity. After the battle of Tewkesbury she was, at first, as a matter of course, in strict confinement. She was conveyed to the Tower, and afterwards to Windsor. But in the January following her capture, Sir John Paston writes: "As for Queen Margaret, I understand that she is removed from Windsor to Wallingford, nigh to Ewelme, my Lady Suffolk's place in Oxfordshire." (Paston Letters, ii. 89.) Surely this was an act of kindness. It could not be expected that she should be placed under the surveillance of any except a decided adherent to the House of York. But although the Duchess of Suffolk was now a Yorkist, yet she had been in early life attached to Queen Margaret's court. She was with her husband when he was despatched to France to bring home Margaret "in flower of youth and beauty's pride." She had attended Margaret at the ceremony of her purification on the 18th of November, 1453: and the childless mother might now find consolation in exchanging forgiveness with one who, though requiring to be forgiven, had something also to forgive. Lewis ought long before to

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Archbishop Bouchier, although he was neither a statesman nor a divine, was by no means an idle man.

have paid her ransom, for he had led her into those difficulties which had terminated in her capture. In expectation of the ransom Edward kept her in durance ; but sound policy would prevent him from treating with undue severity a near kinswoman of the French king. This portion of history is sometimes misunderstood by historians, who forget that fashions of thought, like fashions of dress, vary in different ages. We regard with just abhorrence the death of Henry VI., and the advocates of Richard III. labour to show that their hero was not the murderer. There can, however, be no doubt that both Edward and his brother, after the battle of Barnet, had determined to put away the poor king, as an act of policy. So long as he lived, he would be the rallying point for the discontented. It was so completely an act of policy, that the suspicion that King Henry had come to his death by foul means did not militate against the popularity of Edward. The king was imbecile ; he might be used to disturb the peace of the country ; he was put out of the way ; the people asked no questions. Whether the blow were dealt by the hand of Richard or of Edward, or by some hired assassin, the murder took place under their sanction, and *qui facit per alium facit per se*. The haste with which Edward left London, compared with the minute directions, such as we find in the Issue Rolls in relation to the obsequies of Henry, show clearly that Edward knew what was about to take place, and wished to let it be clearly seen that the deed was not done by his own hand. He did not war on the dead, and, in the funeral honours paid to the late king, he desired to show that he was not influenced by personal feelings of hostility. The Lancastrians, when they began to rally, endeavoured to excite public indignation against the Yorkist princes, and the partizans of the York faction gave out that the king died of grief. It was not likely that poor King Henry should, when removed to prison, think so very deeply of his misfortunes as to die of grief, when on the field of battle he never raised his hand to defend his rights. His mind was gone ; and we must do the Yorkists the justice to say, that from the Issue Rolls and other documents, it is clear that Henry, when a prisoner, received the honours due to his station ; that he was honourably attended, even as his funeral was conducted with due decorum. The Lan-

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We have already seen him busily engaged in ecclesiastical affairs. He was a literary man, and an encourager of learned men. He certainly possessed, in an eminent degree, one episcopal virtue: he was given to hospitality. In these inclinations, the result of the revival of learning, he could freely indulge; for the reign of Edward IV. was a prosperous, and, on the whole, a peaceful one. The rebellion of 1470, under Warwick and Queen Margaret, occupies a considerable space in the pages of history, but it occupied, in point of time, not more than eleven months.

The unsettled state of the country, during that year, was detrimental to the interests of Canterbury; for the year 1470 was the Jubilee.* So many were prevented from attending on this occasion, that the archbishop extended the indulgences of the Jubilee over the year 1471. Unscrupulous as Edward was of shedding blood and of violating his promises, when it suited him to be severe or perfidious, he was observant of the offices of religion, even to superstition. He rode therefore to Canterbury, with his queen and his court; and never was a pilgrimage to Canterbury more fully attended.† I think it probable that, even in 1470, the

castrians reported that when Warwick visited him in the Tower, he found the king in a filthy state. The public documents show that this was not from want of proper attendance. But no attendants, unless they are influenced by the tender feelings of near relationship, can keep in a state of cleanliness an unfortunate person whose mind has become imbecile.

* The translation of Thomas à Becket, St. Thomas of Canterbury, took place, as is stated in the Life of Langton, in the year 1220; and from that time forward the feast of his translation was kept yearly on the 7th of July, while every fiftieth year was a jubilee. These years were 1270, 1320, 1370, 1420, 1470, and the last, 1520.

† Paston Letters, ii. 83.

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king had found time to visit the shrine at Canterbury;* but it is certain that the Yorkists flocked there in 1471, under the impression that they had been specially assisted by the saint: though it is hard to say why Thomas-à-Becket should be a Yorkist rather than a Lancastrian.† Commingled with them came a trembling multitude,—not so much to return thanks for mercies received, as to deprecate misery feared; for a fearful epidemic was prevailing in the land; and men as well as women hurried to Canterbury to seek the intercession of the saint.

“From every shire’s end
Of England to Canterbury they wend,
The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
That them hath holpen.”

On more than one occasion, indeed, the archbishop entertained the king at Canterbury. Immediately after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, Edward brought his bride to the city of his metropolitan. The king was, on this occasion, reminded by the archbishop of the munificence of his ancestors, evinced in benefactions to the cathedral. Most of them, when visiting the tomb of a saint of whom kings especially stood in awe, had left some jewel to decorate his shrine;‡ and the hint was not lost upon Edward. He caused a window to be erected, with an elaborate representation of the martyrdom; some fragments of which having

* In the Fleetwood MS. it is stated that the king was at Canterbury when the bastard Falconbridge capitulated. He was probably passing through on his way to Sandwich.

† St. Thomas was a great saint with the citizens of London, to whom he belonged, and perhaps this was the reason.

‡ Nichols’s Pilgrimages, p. 169.

escaped the superstitious intolerance of Puritanism, are still to be seen.

Archbishop Bouchier did not confine his hospitality to crowned heads. The good people of Canterbury, in 1468, had been astonished by seeing two camels and four dromedaries at the gates of their city. They also saw a prelate, styling himself the Patriarch of Antioch, welcomed by the primate of all England. I believe that I shall be found correct in describing him as the Maronite patriarch, Peter II.* That patriarch had been driven from his country by the Turks, and had appealed to Europe for assistance. There was some hesitation, on the part of the authorities at Rome, to receive him, as doubts were entertained of his entire renunciation of the Monothelite heresy. The patriarch had therefore sent a very long profession of his faith,† which it appears, however, did not give entire satisfaction. To vindicate his orthodoxy as well as to obtain assistance, he came on a visit to the various European churches; and appears to have made what we should now call a sensation.

Bouchier had purchased Knowle, in Sevenoaks, of

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* MS. C.C.C.C. cxiv. I have here to express my obligations to the late Dr. Neale, the highest authority on the Eastern Church, for the trouble he was kind enough to take, in ascertaining who this Patriarch of Antioch really was. There were several persons who might at the same time have given themselves out as patriarchs of Antioch. Dr. Neale, after investigation, states that he has no doubt that Peter II. was the Maronite patriarch who visited Canterbury on this occasion. If there is any difficulty in believing that the Maronite patriarch should call himself patriarch of Antioch, the letters of Paul II. may set this matter at rest. They are addressed, "*Petro Patriarchæ Maronitarum Antiocheno nuncupato.*"

† A part of this may be seen in Le Quien, iii. 64. Part iv. is not yet published.

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Lord Say and Sele, in the year 1455. He converted it into one of those castellated mansions, which were at this time supplanting the old baronial castles.* This manor Archbishop Bouchier bequeathed to the see of Canterbury; and it remained as one of the archiepiscopal estates until Cranmer was persuaded or compelled to make a present of it to king Henry VIII. Here the archbishop enjoyed those field sports which were not regarded as unclerical by the bishops and clergy of that age. Here, too, he opened his house to literary men, whose society he much enjoyed. John Tiptoft, the celebrated Earl of Worcester, was an occasional guest of the archbishop; so was William Botonor, whose historical name is William Wyrcester, to whose chronicle we have frequently had occasion to refer. The politics of Alderman Fabyan would prevent him from being intimate with the archbishop, but we hope that this amusing chronicler was not excluded from the party at Knowle. John Harding, another chronicler to whom we have been much indebted, would tell of old times when, as a boy, he held office in Hotspur's family, and served in arms under the Percies.

Although we may be of opinion that the learned Thomas Hearne was not, strictly speaking, correct in designating Thomas Arnold's great work as a Chronicle; yet we must all admit, that no work will more fully repay the student for its perusal, if the object be to enter into the spirit of the fifteenth century; and the archbishop must have found in him a companion full of anecdote and information. If, indeed, he described him as a true poet, his verdict will be endorsed by the

* Archæol. Cantiana. i. 37.

readers of the "Nut-brown Maid:" and such readers are still to be found in the nineteenth century.*

With Waynfleet Bouchier lived on terms of intimacy; and the primate no doubt was chiefly instrumental in exciting feelings of loyalty to Edward IV. in the breast of the personal friend of Henry VI.

Warkworth, Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to whose Chronicle also we are deeply indebted, though a young man at this time, found in Archbishop Bouchier a patron; and although Bouchier knew little of Sir John Fortescue, the tutor of King Henry's high-spirited and unfortunate son,† yet Sir Thomas Lyttelton, the founder of one of the most distinguished of the noble families in England, submitted to the inspection of the archbishop, in his extreme old age, his book on Land Tenures.

The accomplished Anthony Wydville, earl Rivers, the king's brother-in-law, formed the connecting link between the archbishop and the court of Edward.

There was progress in all directions. From this period modern music may be dated. Counterpoint was now invented, and if, as we have said elsewhere, John Dunstable was not the inventor, he was the great encourager of it in England. Among the musicians who obtained the patronage of Archbishop Bouchier, we may mention Dr. John Hambois, John Taverner, John Marbeck, Dr. Robert Fairfax, John White, Sir Thomas Pheleypes. A new kind of fruit, called "currants," was introduced from Zante not long before the

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* To the ecclesiastical historian Arnold affords valuable information, by giving the number and names of the parish churches in London, with the names also of their pastors.

† It was for his instruction that he wrote his *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.

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archbishop's death. In war, King Edward had introduced the use of hand culverins; and in the construction of his field-pieces he adopted font-metal and bronze instead of iron, which itself proclaims progress in both science and art. The post-office was first established during the Scottish campaign, in order to enable the Duke of Gloucester to be in constant communication with his royal brother. Horsemen were placed, at the distance of twenty miles from each other, on the road from Scotland to London, and they journeyed at the rate of one hundred miles a day.* When we look upon St. George's Chapel at Windsor, and on King's College Chapel at Cambridge, we may demur to the verdict of the modern architects, who speak of the architecture of the age as being in a state of decadence. Undoubtedly there was improvement in sculpture, although it was at present chiefly connected with architecture; in painting also, though it was chiefly employed in the illumination of books.

In the sciences, astronomy and chemistry were superseding, though resulting from, astrology and alchemy; and the study of the classics was becoming an enthusiasm. The revival of classical learning in this age had an effect similar to that which is produced among half-learned persons, through scientific pursuits, in our own. Men could not but regard some of their favourite classical authors in the light of saints: they rebelled against the Church, which acknowledged their merit, but denied their sanctity; and scepticism became a fashion. It was contended that nothing but bigotry could stand opposed to the generous sentiment, which regarded it as a thing indifferent, whether men worshipped "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord."

* Chron. White Rose, 179.

The clergy were not prepared to meet the requirements of the age. Some of the superior clergy, especially those who aimed at a character for learning, participated, or pretended to participate, in the fashionable scepticism; and the inferior clergy sank lower in the social scale as they were gradually debarred from the legal professions. The professions had now been formed, and the laity having driven the clerics from the king's courts, a rivalry between the civil and spiritual courts prevailed; and in the appetite of the clerical lawyers for gain, the practice of the spiritual courts was often nefarious. Instead of meeting the prevailing scepticism by argument and learning, the clergy, both regular and secular, had recourse to lying wonders. Some good men there were who gave too easy credence to the miracles which were said to be wrought, mistaking credulity for faith, and supposing that it is safer, which it is not, to believe too much than too little. The superior clergy, when they did not believe, declined to interfere with the impositions played upon the credulous; under the notion that they were the means of attaching men to the Church. As is usual in such cases, while deceiving others, many became dupes themselves.

In short, while there was progress in all directions, the clergy, taken as a body, and with some great exceptions, like an effete aristocracy, remained stationary. This however could hardly be said of Bouchier. Of his piety we have no right to doubt, and he was the early patron of all improvements. His name is curiously connected with the introduction of the printing press.*

* Instead of speaking of the discovery of the art of printing, it would be more correct to speak of the application of the printing-

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It was, and still is, the opinion of our historians and antiquarians, that the printing press was introduced into England by William Caxton, a citizen of London ; who, during his visits to the Continent, mastered the art and set up a printing press in the year 1471, in Westminster Abbey. But in the seventeenth century, a treatise was published by Richard Atkins, in which he informs us that he had seen a book printed at Oxford in 1468 ; and that the person who gave him that book also placed in his hands a manuscript record found among the muniments of Lambeth, on the authority of which he makes the following statement. As soon as the art of printing made some noise in Europe, Archbishop Bouchier moved king Henry VI. to use all possible means to procure the importation “of a printing mould.” Great secrecy was necessary, and a thousand marks were expended to bribe the workmen at Haarlem, under John Guthenberg, and to induce them

press to the creation of books. The Greek potters, it is well known, imprinted their names upon their sepulchral lamps, some of which are to be seen in the British Museum. Among the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii loaves were found which were stamped with the bakers' names. The seals and signet-rings of the ancients were merely stamps with the name of the owner incised ; they were wetted with ink and impressed upon the parchment, so that signing and sealing, a term still in use, were one and the same thing. But while the material for books, whether papyrus or parchment, was dear, and while the number of readers was small, the cost of printing would have exceeded that of transcribing. I think it is Archbishop Whateley who remarks, that it is to the comparative cheapness of paper, rather than to any inventive genius on the part of a printer, that we are indebted for the art of printing books. Cheap paper was the parent of printing. When paper became cheap, and the demand for books in the progress of civilization became great, then it occurred to more than one person that to the fabrication of books an old invention might be applied.

to come to England. Archbishop Bouchier, it is said, advanced three hundred marks. Mr. Robert Turnour, it is also said, "who then was keeper of the robes to the king," communicated upon the subject with Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good reputation, who traded much into Holland. Turnour and Caxton went, (the former in disguise,) to Holland; and, after encountering difficulties and dangers, at length succeeded in carrying off Frederick Corsells or Corsellis. It was not thought prudent to commence operations in London; but, through the influence of the archbishop, Corsellis was carried with a guard to Oxford. So that, according to Atkins, there was a printing press at Oxford before there was printing, press, or printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany, except at Mentz. The king, it is stated, afterwards set up a press at St. Albans and another at Westminster.*

About half a century after this publication of Atkins, Doctor Middleton, in his dissertation on the origin of printing in England, laboured, and, I suppose it will now be universally admitted, with success, to prove that Atkins was guilty of making a wilful misstatement; for making which it is also shown that he had an object. The Lambeth record, to which Atkins refers as his authority, as it was never heard of before his publication, so it has never since been seen. That Archbishop Parker had not heard of it is clear. While

* The title of the book seen by Atkins is, "Some Account of the Book printed at Oxford in MCCCCLXVIII. under the title of 'Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolo Apostolorum.' In which is printed its claim to be considered the First Book printed in England. London. MDCCCXII."

I have taken the statement from a pamphlet upon this subject by Mr. Singer, of which I possess a copy. It was printed, but I believe not published, in 1812.

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alluding to the introduction of the art of printing Parker does not refer to this pretended event in the life of his predecessor ; but, on the contrary, by giving the honour of the invention to Strasburg, he clearly shows, that the story of Haarlem and of Corsellis was unknown to him. Although, indeed, in a life of Bouchier, it were impossible to avoid some allusion to this story, yet on reference to the page of authentic history, we find that it refutes itself. Edward IV. was proclaimed king in 1461 ; and before the year 1468 Henry VI. had not only ceased to be king, but had sunk into a state of hopeless idiocy. Moreover, although the archbishop was the friend of Caxton, and took interest in everything that related to literature, he was not a man of sufficient energy to originate such a design as that which is attributed to him by Atkins.

In the year 1480 the archbishop began to feel the infirmities of old age. Archbishop Bouchier, although engaged in state affairs, and in the duties of a metropolitan, had not neglected the affairs of his diocese, although he had frequently to call in the assistance of another. So early as the year 1463, he had occasionally availed himself of the assistance of a suffragan, to aid him in the performance of his diocesan duties ; but in 1480, he permanently appointed as such William Westkarre, titular bishop of Sidon.*

The archbishop was enjoying his *otium cum digni-*

* Bishop Westkarre was a black canon, and Prior of Mottesfont. Between the years 1465 and 1468 he had been Rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and Romney Marsh between 1468 and 1473. From 1457 to 1486 he also acted as suffragan to the Bishop of Winchester. He had assisted the Bishop of Worcester and the Bishop of Bath and Wells as early as 1459. He was S. T. P. of St. Mary's College, Oxford, and Commissary of the University from 1442 to 1446.

tate, when he was once more called into public life, by the unexpected death of king Edward IV.—a bad man, but a very great king.

The archbishop pleaded his old age as an excuse for not officiating at the obsequies of the king, which were conducted on a scale of surpassing magnificence. Nevertheless, in the events which followed rapidly after the king's death, he was compelled to take, if not a distinguished, yet a prominent part.

A word must be said on the subject of King Richard III. The lovers of paradox, and those who delight to encourage a scepticism in matters of history as well as of religion, have done much service to historical literature by their severe investigation of all the documents which have as yet come to light, bearing upon the character of that most unpopular of our kings. They, too many of them, fall into the common mistake of supposing that, if they can prove a man to have possessed, when his selfish passions slumbered, some virtuous and even amiable qualities, they have then established the fact that he cannot have been guilty, even when most excited, or when self-interested policy was concerned, of any great crimes. A tiger may be a most amiable mother to her cubs, but this does not prove that she will not place a deadly paw upon those who disturb her in her feast-time. It has doubtless been proved that Richard was wise in council, and a skilful general; that his nature was not, like his brother's, sensual, and that he would uphold the cause of morality and venerate a saintly character. He was courteous in his manners, and found pleasure in doing kind actions.

But this does not prove that he was not guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. We have in our own

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times seen men accounted heroes by those who take a one-sided view of their character,—whose crimes we can only discredit, by regarding all history as a fable. Richard, like Edward, would heap favours upon a friend, and feel, as much as a purely selfish character can feel, some of the fervour of friendship; but they would, neither of them, have hesitated for a moment to put out of the way their dearest friend, if that dear friend were an obstruction to any design they might have in hand. Richard was said to have loved and admired Lord Hastings more than any man living; but, without apparent compunction, he did not hesitate, at a moment's notice, to send him to the scaffold,

“Cut off even in the blossoms of his sin,
Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd.”

The archbishop, in the present condition of the country, would naturally look with confidence to a prince who had been hitherto favourably known; and it is highly probable that Richard, when the news of his brother's death reached him, would have been quite contented with the regency. The precedent of a Lord Protector prepared the country to receive him in that character; and in that character Bouchier was eager to give him his cordial support.

No one can read attentively this portion of history, comparing the tradition with the authentic documents, without seeing that the blame of the quarrel between him and the late king's family, in the first instance attaches to the queen and her relatives. Richard was, in all probability, prepared to treat that weak and wayward woman with respect; to place her at the head of her son's court; and to be satisfied for himself with the substance of authority, without the trappings of

royalty. But he found, that she and her party were plotting against his authority, his liberty, perhaps his life. Richard was not the man to submit patiently to this state of things. If the queen's party were not annihilated, nothing less than the annihilation of Richard would satisfy their ambition or silence their fears. When all were equally in the wrong Richard triumphed over his enemies by his firmness, his sagacity, and his unscrupulous decision of character. It is not for us, even in the nineteenth century, to examine too closely into the circumstances of a *coup d'état*.

The archbishop arrived in London in the early part of May. He came to protect the young king, to prepare for his coronation, and to confer with the Duke of Gloucester, who had arrived on the 4th of that month. In London all was confusion. The public mind was kept in a continual ferment by reports of plots and counterplots.* All eyes were turned to the wise, the valiant, and, it was thought, the good Duke of Gloucester. The archbishop, with the Lords spiritual and temporal at that time in London, acted with the magistrates of the city, and formed a convention to adopt measures for the preservation of the peace. A parliament had already been summoned; but until it could meet and confirm the present proceedings, Richard, duke of Gloucester, was proclaimed Protector of the king and kingdom.

It was reported that the queen had placed herself and the young Duke of York in sanctuary at Westminster. The Duke of Gloucester acted still with caution, though with decision. The archbishop was summoned, with other lords of the Council, to a meet-

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* Croyland Continuator, 487.

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ing at which they were addressed by the duke.* He stated that his interests were identified with those of the king, his nephew ; and that his desire, as Protector, was to act as a servant of the Crown under the direction of the Council. When all things were in a state of anarchy, the queen might be justified in placing herself in sanctuary ; but to continue in sanctuary, when he was appointed Protector, was not only an act of hostility against his government, but an insult to the King, the Protector, and the Council. When Elizabeth was asked to settle at court and make a home for her son, she desired it to be inferred, that neither the authority of the King nor the power of the Council were sufficient to protect her. It was impossible to carry on the government, if she, with the heir-presumptive under her direction, should be permitted to carry on her intrigues in a rival court. He dwelt also on the discomfort experienced by the king in being deprived of his brother's society, and on the necessity of the young duke's presence at the approaching coronation. He requested therefore the cardinal archbishop to wait upon the queen, and in the name of the Council to demand the surrender of the Duke of York. If the persuasions of the cardinal archbishop shall fail, "it only remains, in my opinion," concluded the Protector, "that we fetch the Duke of York out of that prison by force."

The archbishop, always ready for conciliatory measures, undertook, with pleasure, the mission to the queen ; at the same time he protested against the

* The speeches given by Sir Thomas More in his history were evidently manipulated by him into their present rhetorical form ; but that they are substantially correct is certain, since the report was made by Morton, who was present.

proposed aggression upon the rights of sanctuary. Such a measure would shock the feelings of the pious ; and highly offensive would it be to Almighty God,—

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“ In that Church, which, being at first consecrated by St. Peter, who came down above 500 years ago in person, accompany’d with many Angels by night to do it, has since been adorned with the privilege of a sanctuary by many popes and kings ; and therefore, as no bishop ever dared to attempt the Consecration of that Church, so no Prince has ever yet been so fierce and indevout as to violate the Privilege of it. And God forbid, that any man whatsoever shall, at this time, or hereafter, upon any worldly advantages or reasons, attempt to infringe the Immunities of that most Holy Place, that hath been the Defence and Safety of so many good-men’s Lives.”*

In the violent debate which ensued, we perceive the change which had taken place in men’s minds since the days of Henry II. The Archbishop of York, following the Archbishop of Canterbury, weakly defended the rights of sanctuary as belonging to Westminster Abbey ; among the treasures of which church was the very cope in which St. Peter had officiated. These old-fashioned arguments only now provoked the wrath of men preparing to defy the Church. The Duke of Buckingham made a violent speech, in which he denounced the queen as having caused the present unsettled state of affairs by the plots of herself and her kindred. He reiterated the statements of the Duke of Gloucester, and maintained, that if she would not give up the Duke of York, the duke must be taken from her by main force. He then launched out into such a strain of vituperation against the clergy for

* Sir Thomas More. Life and Reign of Edward V. 487.

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the abuses of sanctuary, that the wonder is that Bale and Foxe should not have canonized the Duke of Buckingham as a protestant before Luther. He contended, that it was contrary to law, to place in sanctuary an infant whose life was not in danger. The Duke of Gloucester, seeing the effect of Buckingham's violence on the Council, proceeded with calmness to argue the case, and his argument was irresistible. He remarked, that the protection of sanctuary was not extended to a wife who absconded from her husband, or to a boy who ran away from school; and he contended that the present was an analogous, and consequently an exceptional case.

Persuaded by this argument, and overpowered by the eloquence of Buckingham, it was determined in council, that an attempt should be made to induce the queen voluntarily to release her child; or that, in the event of her refusal, he should be taken from her by force.

A deputation, headed by the archbishop, accordingly waited upon the queen, while the Protector and the rest of the Council repaired to the Star Chamber, there to receive their report. Into the details of this interview, so graphically given by Sir Thomas More, and repeated by subsequent historians, it is not necessary to enter.

The queen gave it as one of her reasons for declining to part with the duke, that he had been ill, and still required all a mother's care. She declared, that, until he was restored to health, she would not part with him. The archbishop replied, that no one could deny that the queen was the proper nurse of her child; all that the Council required was, that she should perform those duties in the proper place—the palace of

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the king her son. He added, that if she resolved to remain where she was, the Council was determined, at all risks, to remove the young duke ; his remaining in sanctuary reflected dishonour on the king, the council, and the duke himself. The archbishop concluded with an implied impeachment of the queen's sincerity, when she grounded her refusal on her maternal solicitude. Alluding to the readiness with which the queen had, on one occasion, parted with the young king himself when his presence was important to her own faction, "It is not, after all," said the archbishop, "so invariably necessary that the child should be with its mother. There might be reasons, on public grounds, as no one knows better than the queen, for permitting a separation. Your eldest son, then Prince of Wales, now the king, was sent away from his mother, by his mother's own command, to keep his court at Ludlow."

The queen understood the archbishop, and lost her temper. The cases were not parallel, she said, for the prince was at that time in good health, and the duke was at present unwell. Suppose the child were, when under their protection, to die, had the Protector and the Council no fear of the evil surmises which would ensue ?

"I shall not," she said, "leave this place." Then turning to the boy, she added, that the more earnest some men were to get him into their hands, the more determined she was not to part with him.

"And the more suspicious you are, madam," replied the archbishop, "the more jealous are others of you, lest, under a pretence of danger, you cause him to be conveyed out of the country." He then explained to her, that the privilege of sanctuary could not be extended to her son, as he was not old enough to apply for it of

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his own free will, and as he had not committed any offence which rendered the sanctuary necessary to him. If, therefore, she refused to let him go, force would be employed to set him at liberty.

At this threat the queen's anger seems to have known no bounds. She declared that she had never thought of sending her son abroad ; though to place him out of danger she would be justified in sending him anywhere. A violation of sanctuary, she declared, would be a demoniacal act. She declared, that she had taken legal advice, and that lawyers informed her that she was the guardian of her child. She pronounced the pretence of the Protector in seeking a companion for the king to be, as it was, frivolous ; and she more than insinuated that, since the Protector asserted that, next to the princes, in defiance of the claims of her daughter, he was himself the heir to the throne, it was neither expedient nor safe that both of the princes should be in his custody.

To persons who still believed in the integrity of the Protector, these insinuations were not a little offensive ; and the archbishop, with calmness and dignity, observed, that he should decline any altercation with the queen. It could not matter to him personally whether she would or would not deliver up the young prince. He was there simply with the other lords, a deputation from the Council, to know what was her determination. He called upon her to state distinctly whether she would accede to the demand of the Council, or not. " If you resign your son to us," he continued, " I will pawn my soul and body for his safety : if you refuse, I shall have done my part, and shall depart with the full determination never again to interfere in this matter. You evidently consider both

me and the other members of the Council deficient either in wisdom or in honesty : in wisdom, for that, not perceiving the evil designs of the Protector, we are mere tools in his hands ; or in honesty, for that, knowing his wickedness and craft, we have endeavoured to place your son in his hands for the child's destruction : an execrable treason which, as we ourselves abhor it, so we dare boldly say, that it never entered into the Protector's thoughts."

The archbishop now turned to depart. Persuasion had failed. It remained for the Council to determine what next was to be done. Weak and impetuous persons often rush suddenly from one extreme to another ; so was it with the queen. We must suppose that she had been advised how to act before the arrival of the deputation ; and that she had been advised to make the archbishop and the Council responsible for the safety of her sons. But this she had been prevented from doing by an ebullition of temper. Her own game—that of placing the government of the country in the hands of her own family, and of overpowering the party of the Duke of Gloucester, had been lost. There was nothing to be gained by her opposition to the Council, except that of adding to their perplexities ; and the impolicy seemed suddenly to have occurred to her of converting into enemies the very persons whom it was her wisdom to conciliate. All this we must conjecture, if we would account for the queen's conduct, which from this time was both dignified and affecting. The deputation had received its answer. The queen would not proceed to her son's court, or give up to the care of the Council her second son, the Duke of York. With stern, sad, but determined looks, the archbishop and the other peers were

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preparing to depart. There was a moment's pause. The queen was calm. With that graciousness for which she was distinguished, she recalled the words uttered under feelings of excitement. She would not, she did not, distrust the wisdom or the loyalty of the archbishop and the Council.

All anger ceases when an opponent generously retracts what was said in a hasty moment. The queen took the young prince by the hand, and approaching the archbishop, she said, in words which were the more affecting, since it was thus shown that her fears for the safety of her children were real, though indistinct:—

“I do here deliver him, and his brother in him, to your keeping, of whom I shall ask him again at all times before God and the world. I am confident of your fidelity, and have no reason to distrust your wisdom, power, or ability to keep him, if you will make use of your resolution, when it is required; and if you are unwilling to do that, then I pray you leave him still here with me: and that you may not meet with more than you did expect, let me beg of you, for the trust which his father ever reposed in you, and for the confidence I now put in you, that as you think I fear too much, so you would be cautious that in this weighty case you fear not too little; because your credulity here may make an irrecoverable mistake.” *

Leading the royal boy by the hand, the cardinal archbishop, with the rest of the deputation, entered the Star Chamber, and there received the congratulations of the Council on the success of their embassy.

The archbishop then carried the Duke of York to the Bishop of London's palace, where the royal brothers cordially embraced. Bouchier did not leave London

* Sir Thomas More. Life and Reign of Edward V. 491.

until he had placed the royal youths in the palace of the Tower. That portion of the Tower had been the favourite residence of their mother, and was luxuriously furnished. It was expected that she would soon follow with her daughters—an expectation never realized.

Everything being now in a fair train for settlement, the aged archbishop went back to Knowle, there to await his own great change. But if rest he sought, it was not what he was permitted to find. During the retreat of the old man, politicians had been busy; and he received a summons to officiate at the coronation, not, as he had expected, of young Edward, but of the Protector himself.

The Duke of Gloucester had discovered—so he pretended—that his brother had been guilty of bigamy, and that Edward V. and his brother were illegitimate. If the children of Edward were illegitimate, “the king undoubted of this realm” was Richard, duke of Gloucester.* Into an examination of the truth or

* There were certainly suspicious circumstances connected with Edward's marriage with Elizabeth. The advocates of Richard III. assert that his mother, the Duchess of York, was cognizant of a previous marriage of Edward with the Lady Eleanor Butler; that she concealed the fact till after Edward's death; that she made it known to Richard when the family of the queen, whom she hated, was offering a factious opposition to the Protector's government; and that Richard was “the king undoubted of this realm,” when the bastardy of Edward's children was established. The attentive reader of history will remember, that there was considerable mystery and delay as to the announcement of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth. He was not a man to care about giving offence to his peers; and, unless we credit the story of the Earl of Warwick's wrath, we must observe that the peers did not trouble themselves about the matter, until the queen became determined to push the fortunes of her family, and insulted by her arrogance the old aris-

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falsehood of this statement it is not necessary for me to enter. It is sufficient, that the assertion was believed to be true by the archbishop. His acquiescence in the story, however, will not count for much in an investigation of the facts of the case. He was old and indolent, and did what his lawyers advised him to do ; and by bribes or threats the lawyers may have been won to the side of Richard. As the case was stated to the archbishop, it would appear that the Duchess of York had been aware of the precontract with the Lady Eleanor which vitiated the marriage with the Lady Elizabeth ; but that, for reasons best known to herself, the secret, till now, she had never revealed. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, Robert Stillington, now came forward to declare that, at the marriage between Edward and the Lady Eleanor, he had himself officiated.*

tocracy. Why the delay, then, and the mystery of the marriage ? Why was it clandestine ? It is said that it was afterwards publicly performed by Archbishop Bouchier. We have stated above that, having searched for evidence of this fact, we have not found it. If it did take place, why was it not a public marriage at first ? It seems that some arrangements were necessary. Then the Duchess of York, the king's mother, though at first opposed to the marriage, lived afterwards on good terms with the queen ; and why this change ? It is to be remarked, that while Queen Elizabeth was left to seek her dower from the forfeited estates of the Lancastrians, the dowager Duchess of York was invested with the estates usually assigned for the support of a queen dowager. The oath also, to which reference is made above, which was exacted by Edward from his Council, that, in the event of his death, they would acknowledge his son as king, though not unprecedented, was so unusual, that it must be added to the other suspicious circumstances. We lay these statements before the reader, who will decide for himself the weight to be attached to them.

* The character of Stillington, as given by De Commynes, may induce us to suspect him of perjury when he took his oath on this occasion ; but the question with which we are concerned is simply

Stillington was a worthless and immoral man; but this was not known to the archbishop, for we are not to infer the intimacy of the two prelates from the circumstance of Stillington's being present when Bouchier received the red hat; for he was present on that occasion as chancellor.*

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There was no question as to the safety of the children. It would seem that the fact of their pretensions to the throne being set aside would be a security for their lives. There was no apparent object in destroying them, if their illegitimacy were admitted.

The archbishop, therefore, obeyed the summons from Richard, and officiated at his coronation; though he afterwards deserted Richard's cause, and the old man again officiated at the coronation of Henry VII.

If the question had come before Bouchier as a parliamentary question, whether, in the distracted state of the country, the children should be set aside, and Richard be appointed to ascend the throne; the archbishop, with many others, must have taken the part of the children; for, in the eleventh year of King Edward's reign, an oath had been administered to the archbishop, in common with the other privy councillors, that, in

whether Bouchier would regard him as a credible witness. On this subject the reader is referred to Buck and Walpole.—Buck in Kennett, 562; Historic Doubts, Walpole's works, ii. 248.

* It is impossible to give credit to the Lancastrian report that Richard suffered his mother to be defamed. There is no assignable object for his doing so. Fabian, 669, who was probably present when Dr. Shaw delivered his celebrated sermon, mentions the fact of the preacher's allusion to the illegitimacy of Edward's children, but does not make any reference to the duchess. The duchess was not a person who would bear without resentment such conduct on the part of her son; and she, in her hatred to Elizabeth, was Richard's adviser. It was at her house, Baynard's Castle, that he received the offer of the crown.

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the event of Edward's dying in the nonage of the prince, he would "take and accept him for true, very and righteous King of England."* But if the children were illegitimate by the antecedent marriage of their father, from that oath all who had taken it were exonerated.

Richard loved pomp and display, but policy also dictated the importance of surrounding the present coronation with circumstances of peculiar magnificence. A wise man does not despise little things; and Richard was well aware that the people, high and low, like to be admitted into a share of those costly splendours for which they pay. On this occasion it was also expedient to obtain a sanction to the proceedings by the attendance of as many noble and official persons as could be persuaded or compelled to attend. By assisting at the coronation, they committed themselves to the cause of Richard.† That credit was given to the assertion that Edward's children were illegitimate, is shown by the fact that, on scarcely any similar occasion, was the aristocracy of England so fully represented.

* Rot. Parl. vi. 234. The proffer of this oath looks suspicious. If Edward did not fear that a precontract—if not a previous marriage—might be discovered, why should he press this oath? It was not without example, and the unsettled state of the country was a sufficient pretext; but still, in connexion with other evidence, it is suspicious.

† Richard proceeded on this principle in feigning a reluctance to accept the crown, when it was pressed upon him by the chief persons in the state. Richard was too acute a man to play a mere vulgar game of hypocrisy soon seen through, by a seeming reluctance to accept the crown after he had determined upon wearing it. But he led on the chief persons in the State, by still urging it upon him, so entirely to commit themselves, as to render it necessary, for their own sakes, to maintain his cause. He was a crafty politician, but not a vulgar hypocrite.

Richard was, at this time, the most popular of the princes and nobles. The great body of the Yorkists were the more zealously attached to him from their dislike of the queen's party, who were looked upon as renegade Lancastrians. Many of the Lancastrians, at the same time, were willing to give Richard a fair trial; and not a few of the politicians of the day, like Bouchier, expected that, through his wisdom, moderation, firmness, and virtue, the two factions would be awed into union. To the common people he was always acceptable, for he was almost as affable as his brother had been; and the more sober citizens were pleased to see a prince on the throne, who would not only maintain the peace of the country, but would also abstain from those violations of public decorum of which, in the madness of his sensuality and the flow of his intoxicated spirits, the late king had been so repeatedly guilty. On his procession from the palace, Richard was attended by three dukes, nine earls, and twenty-two barons, by a countless array of knights and squires, by the corporation of London, the aldermen riding two and two in their scarlet robes. The cardinal archbishop, bending beneath the weight of his pontificals, was attended by the majority of his suffragans; while the regulars were represented by almost all the mitred abbots then in England. Thus did Church and State unite to establish a throne, which was almost immediately overthrown by a deed of blood, which was a crime; and, in the eyes of politicians, worse than a crime,—a political mistake.

The archbishop again returned to Knowle. There he was gratified by the intelligence that the king had spontaneously remitted a portion of the taxes due to him; and that, being less of a sportsman than his brother,

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he disforested a large tract of land at Witchwood, which his brother had converted into a forest of deer. On the 23rd of July, the king left Windsor to make a progress in the north of England. There he was always popular, and wherever he went, he was enthusiastically received. Acting by the archbishop's advice, the king issued a circular to the bishops in favour of "virtue and cleanness of living," and calling upon them to exercise the discipline of the Church upon offenders, both clerical and lay. He thus covertly condemned his deceased brother, and signified his intention to discontinue that profligacy which had rendered Edward's court a scandal to sober-minded persons. He commenced thus :—

"And if ye will diligently apply you to the execution and performing of this matter, ye shall not only do unto God right acceptable pleasure ; but, over that, we shall see such persons spiritual as been under your pastoral care, none otherwise, to be entreated or punished for their offences, but, according to the ordinances and laws of Holy Church. And, if, for the due execution of the premises, any complaint or suggestion be made unto us of you, we shall remit the determination thereof unto the courts of our cousin the Archbishop of Canterbury cardinal. And thus proceeding to the execution hereof, you shall do unto yourself great honour, and unto us right singular pleasure.

" Given at Westminster, the 10th day of March." *

But a "change soon came over the spirit of his dream." People were beginning to inquire what had become of the young princes. Their case was a hard one ; and from the consciousness, on the part of many, that they had sacrificed the poor children to the demands of state expediency, the interest taken in

* Halliwell ; Letters of the Kings of England, i. 155.

their welfare was the greater. The question, when put to the archbishop, caused him no little anxiety, and he was urgent to obtain an answer. The only satisfactory answer which could be given was, the production of the deposed child and his brother. It was a point on which Bouchier felt deeply. He had not pledged himself to maintain the right of the children to the throne, if parliament should think fit to set aside the claim. But pledged his honour was for the safety of the boys.

“Where are your brother’s children?” This was a question which soon met Richard wherever he went; and the silence of the king inflamed the rising anger of the people. Masses are frequently moved by a mere sentiment, and, their passions once ignited, they cease to be amenable to reason. “What has become of the poor children in the Tower?” Every mother’s heart in England ached for the answer.

Richard’s hardened heart was taken by surprise. A stern man, educated at a revolutionary period, he thought nothing of sacrificing human life to political expediency. It was found that while Henry VI. lived, there could be no security for the peace of the country; and Henry died. There was no security for the Yorkist throne while the Lancastrian Edward lived to claim it; and the son of Henry died. There were certain to be insurrections from time to time, unless the two young princes were removed, and removed they were. Nobody, even to the present hour, knows how. Richard expected that, as in the case of Henry VI., the country, glad to be rid of a cause of disturbance, would have asked no questions about the children. The queen was not likely to be supported by the Lancastrians, when calling for vengeance, and by the great body of

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the Yorkists she was hated. We can easily understand how Richard may have deceived himself.

But the stern demand still came,—“Where are the children?” The very fact that he did not produce them, when their production would have saved his throne, is a clear proof that he had murdered them, or, at all events, that he thought that they were murdered. They were unproduceable;* and there was lamentation throughout the land, as of “Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not.” Every mother’s heart beat in sympathy with the once unpopular and frivolous queen of Edward IV. The once popular Richard was regarded with feelings of abhorrence. The Lancastrians took courage, and fanned the rising flame of public indignation. The Yorkists of the queen’s party, in seeking reconciliation with the Lancastrians, were only reviving ancient friendships. Like herself, many had left the Lancastrians, rather from attachment to the fortunes of Edward than from any zeal for his party; and new party combinations were formed.

The archbishop must have felt all the indignation which a man so far advanced in years was capable of feeling, when it was whispered to him that the young princes were no more. He had pledged his word for their safety, and the man in whose honour he had confided was their murderer!

We may infer his feelings upon the subject, from two circumstances. The Bouchier family, hitherto a Yorkist family, were now mixed up in the projects for that counter-revolution which eventually placed

* The question relating to Perkin Warbeck will arise elsewhere. Of the murder of Edward V. himself, I believe no doubt has been entertained, even by those who think that his brother escaped.

Henry VII. on the throne. The other circumstance is, that he was intimate with Bishop Morton, who, as we shall have to record in his life, was actively engaged in promoting a marriage between the representatives of the two great factions; and of thus bringing to a termination those civil disturbances of which all men were weary.

An active part the archbishop could not be expected to take; and his friends kept from him all the agitating details. He was at Knowle when the news arrived that the God of battles had declared, at Bosworth, in favour of one whose title to the crown seemed otherwise to rest on nothing better than a variety of half claims. There was no time now to enter into claims and counter-claims. Henry VII. had been crowned on the field of battle. A crowned king he was, and the cardinal archbishop was summoned to London to anoint him.

This coronation formed a striking contrast with the last. Delay was now to be avoided; despatch was everything. On the field of battle the crown had been placed on Henry's head, amidst the sound of trumpets, the plaudits of his victorious troops; and under the sanction of the nobles, whose swords had been drawn in his cause, and were not yet returned to their scabbards. What Henry required was the recognition of his claim by the Church. He was to be anointed; and once more the decrepit primate was dragged from his retirement to anoint him. Henry knew the weariness of a twice-told tale; and instead therefore of making his coronation an imitation of the splendours displayed by Richard, he desired to contrast it by its religious simplicity. His coffers were not yet full, and he had no desire to commence his reign by incurring

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a debt. There was another and a sadder reason—the joy of the nation—and there is no reason to doubt the joy which was felt at Henry's victory—was damped by an awful visitation of Providence; which caused untimely deaths not to be confined to fighting men, but to desolate the homes in which those men had rejoined their wives and children; where they now stood between the dying and the dead.

An awful visitation indeed this epidemic was, if it be true that, of those whom it attacked, not more than one in a hundred escaped. Amidst the narrow and filthy streets of London its ravages were fearful. High and low were equally its victims; the Dives faring sumptuously, and the Lazarus at his gate. Two Lord Mayors and six aldermen of London were numbered among the dead.

When historians declaim against Henry for delaying his marriage with Elizabeth of York, they must have forgotten this fact. For certainly, when the archbishop was summoned, at the commencement of 1486, to officiate at the marriage between the representatives of the White Rose and the Red, he found the king prepared, by the expenses of the marriage-feast, to make up for the necessary curtailment of the coronation festivities. The marriage took place on the 18th of January, 1486. Nothing could exceed the splendour of the court on the occasion, and no one felt more joy than the archbishop himself, who, through a long life, had always come forward as a peace-maker, when for making peace there seemed to be a chance. The last official act of Archbishop Bouchier's trembling hand, trembling from joy as well as from age, was, as old Fuller expresses it, "to hold the posie on which the white rose and the red were tied together."

For the last time the old man went to his much-loved home—the home of his own creation at Knowle. No wife was there to sympathise with him, no children to nurse him. But he was at peace with his God; and his Saviour was to him his all in all.

He expired on the 6th of April, 1486. On the 12th of April his body was removed from his manor of Knowle to Maidstone, where vigils were kept for him. From Maidstone he was removed, on the following day, to Faversham. The next day the funeral procession entered Canterbury. Here it was met by the representatives of various clerical and monastic bodies. The Bishop of Rochester, the suffragan of the late primate, attended, with the convent of Christ Church at Westgate, and incensed the body, which was by them conveyed to the Cathedral, where the interment took place.*

I subjoin a translation of his will. Such original documents are particularly useful in throwing light, indirectly, upon the manners of the age.

“I leave my body to be buried in my Cathedral Church of Canterbury, in that place which, in the choir of the said church, on the north side of the great altar, I have chosen for my sepulchre. I leave to the poor 100 pounds; to the prior and chapter of my Church of Christ at Canterbury, one image of the holy Trinity of pure gold, with the diadem, and xi balassers, x sapphirs, and xliiij gems called perlys, one whole vestment of gold cloth, called *rede Tissue pyerled*, &c. To my successor, for the dilapidation of my church and of my manors in full recompense of the dilapidation of my goods, viz. in jewels, in vessels of silver, vestments, books, and other things to the church of Worcester, 2,000 pounds, an image of the Blessed Virgin of silver, in value 69 pounds, viz. to the

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* The details are given from a MS. of Lambeth, 585.

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holy church of Saint Etheldreda, at Ely, 200 marks in jewels, vestments and money. *Item*, I desire that my executors place in a chest in the church of St. Mary, in the University of Oxford, 100 pounds, to the intent that poor scholars may be able to borrow of these monies to the sum of 100 marks, or any less sum, provided always that the guardians of the said chest receive sufficient pledges. *Item*, a similar chest in the University of Cambridge, with the said sum of one hundred pounds for similar uses, &c. I leave to Henry, earl of Essex, my nephew, one cup with a cover, commonly called *the great Bolle of Gold*, for him to have during the remainder of his life, and after his death to his male heir, and so in perpetuity, and in defect of heirs, to the next heir of the name of Bourghchier in perpetuity, for a memorial. I leave to Thomas Bourghchier, senior, Knight, in jewels 100 marks. I leave to Thomas Bourghchier, junior, Knight, my manors of Eynesford, and Halsted, &c. Given at my manor of Knoll, 27 of March. An. 1486.”*

* Battely. Appendix, 35.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOHN MORTON.

Born at Milborne St. Andrew, Dorsetshire.—Educated at Cerne Abbey, afterwards at Oxford.—A benefactor to the University.—Appointed Principal of Peckwater's Inn.—Sub-Dean of Lincoln.—His Preferments.—Parson of Blokesworth.—Present at Battle of Towton.—His Flight.—Is attainted.—In Flanders with Queen Margaret.—Distress of the Lancastrians.—Fortescue.—Counter-revolution.—Attached to the suite of Warwick.—Return to England.—King Edward flies.—Morton prepares to meet the Queen.—Edward's return.—Battle of Barnet.—Morton's care of the Queen.—Battle of Tewkesbury.—Death of King and Prince of Wales.—Morton's adhesion to Edward.—Morton received into the King's favour.—His Preferments.—Master of the Rolls.—His Diligence.—Sent on Embassy to Germany.—Benevolences.—War with France.—Treaty managed by Morton.—He negotiates the Ransom of Queen Margaret.—Personal friend of Edward IV. and his Queen.—Resigns the Mastership of the Rolls.—Elected Bishop of Ely.—His Installation.—Morton in Private Life.—Tutor to the Prince.—Garden of Holborn.—Residence in London.—Present at Death of Edward IV.—Officiates at Funeral.—State of Parties.—Duke of Gloucester.—His politics.—His manners.—Strawberry scene.—Morton attainted and imprisoned.—Petition from Oxford in his favour.—Consigned to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham.—Morton at Brecknock.—Intrigues against Richard III.—Communications opened with the Countess of Richmond.—Morton's Flight.—Received in Flanders.—Returns to England after the victory of Bosworth.—The Sweating Sickness.—Morton's Attainder reversed.—Lord Chancellor.—Archbishop of Canterbury.—Morton as an ecclesiastic.—Modern Romanism introduced.—Proceedings in Convocation.—Pastoral Letter.—Visitation of Monasteries.—Proposed Canonization of Henry VI.—Canonization of Anselm.—Morton's speeches in Parliament.—Creation of the Duke of York.—Henry the Seventh's Government.—Morton responsible as his adviser.—Character of the Archbishop from Sir Thomas More.—Chancellor of Oxford.—His munificence.—Died at Knowle.

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John
Morton.

1486-1500.

It is probable, that John Morton, so long chief minister of Henry VII., was born, not, as is usually stated, at Bere Regis, but at Milborne St. Andrew, in the county of Dorset. As the two places are distant from one another not above three miles, it would be generally stated, that he was a native of the more important place—Bere Regis. It would not be likely that Milborne St. Andrew would put in its claim, unless there were some grounds for its pretension. The date of his birth is also disputed, but we shall probably be correct in fixing it in the year 1420.*

He was the eldest son of Richard Morton, whose

Authorities.—*Historia Eliensis* and *Dies Obituales*, Arch. Cant. in the *Anglia Sacra*. Hall's Chronicle. Polydore Vergil. Grafton's Chronicle. Fabyan's Chronicle. Hardyng's Chronicle. Rastell's Chronicle. Continuator of the Croyland Chronicle. Bacon's Lives of Edward V. and Richard III. Philip de Commynes. More's Utopia. Hist. Hen. VII. a Bernardo Andrea Tholosate, ed. Gairdner. Letters and Papers of Richard III. and Henry VII. in the *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*, and a valuable little work, Jo. Mortoni Archiepisc. Cant. *Vita Obitusque*, by John Budden. This is dedicated to George Morton, a member of the archbishop's family, and was written within a century of the primate's death. It records the family traditions, probably, of Morton. But it is provoking that one, who had so many opportunities of acquiring information, should have told us so little. My copy of the work is a presentation copy by the author to Archbishop Bancroft, written in a small but beautiful hand.

* The date generally given by modern writers is 1410, which would make him fifty-one at the accession of Edward IV. At that time his only title was the Parson of Blokesworth, and his only public office was that of being connected with the Privy Council. It is not probable that he would have remained in an inferior position if he had been fifty years of age at the Revolution. I think, therefore, that the date given in the *Dies Obituales*, which makes him eighty instead of ninety in the year 1500, the correct one. Ang. Sac. i. 64.

father had migrated from Nottinghamshire, and had settled in Milborne Stileham in Bere Regis. He had several brothers, as appears from his will.* His uncle represented Shaftesbury in Parliament. A nephew of his became Bishop of Worcester.† He received his primary education in the Benedictine Abbey of Cerne in his native county. He then proceeded to Oxford, and entered at a college which Wood describes as “situated in the north suburbs ; on the north side of a street called Horse-monger street, but now Canditch.” It is better known to us as Balliol College.‡ After a long course of study in civil and canon law, he took his degree as LL.D. In 1446, he was one of the commissaries or Vice-Chancellor of the University, and was moderator in the civil law school.

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He never forgot his obligations to his alma mater ; and the University availed itself of several opportunities, which occurred in the course of his life, of testifying the respect entertained for one of its most distinguished members. He himself, when Bishop of Ely, and at a later period of life, was a benefactor to the University ; and the University elected him as its chancellor when that office had assumed the perpetual character which still attaches to it. When, in 1669, alterations were made in the divinity schools, under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren and Bishop Fell, the arms of Morton were discovered beneath the wood-work which was removed, and the same arms appeared in the south window.§

In due time he repaired to London, there to practise as a lawyer. His practice in the Court of Arches brought him under the notice of Archbishop Bouchier.

* Somner, 35. † Fuller's Worthies. ‡ Wood, Colleges, 70.

§ Wood, Annals, i. 651, 654 ; ii. 769, 780.

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Through the archbishop's influence he was appointed a privy councillor and made Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall under the young prince Edward. He was made at the same time clerk or master in chancery.* But he did not give up his connexion with Oxford. In 1453, he was appointed principal of Peckwater's Inn,†—an inn or hall at Oxford now merged into Christ Church, which was frequented by students of law. Neither did he disconnect himself with his native county. He obtained, though it does not appear in what year, the living of Bloxworth or Blokesworth in Dorsetshire, about eight miles from Blandford, connected probably with his family estate. Although he afterwards became a notable pluralist, yet, during the reign of Henry, he was contented with the subdeanery of Lincoln, to which he was appointed in 1450, and with prebendal stalls in Salisbury, Lincoln, and Lichfield. These were sinecures ; the value of which, however, was not great, and to these he was not appointed till the year 1458,—three years before the Revolution. He was up to this period a young man pushing his way to an eminence not yet reached. His common designation was the parson of Blokesworth, given half in earnest, and half in pleasantry, designating what would now be called “the squire-parson.” He divided his time between Bloxworth and Oxford, repairing to London when his attendance was required either at

* Rot. Parl. 297.

† Peckwater's Inn, the house once of R. Peckwater, was given by his son Radulph Peckwater, proctor of Oxon, in the reign of Henry III. to J. Giffard, baron of Brimsfield, in 1260. He converted it into a house for students of civil law, and so it continued until it became part of Christ Church.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* 125.

the Council or in the courts of law. He did not take—he probably had no opportunity of taking—a prominent part in public affairs, but the demands upon his time were the more urgent, as the difficulties by which the king was surrounded increased. He was certainly in attendance upon the king at the fatal defeat of the Lancastrian cause at Towton. Although Morton had no military command, he must have been compelled, at one period of the day, to fight for his life. Between civilian and soldier no distinction was made on a field where no quarter was given,—where it was accounted treason in the captor to accept a ransom for his prisoner instead of plunging his sword or his dagger through the heart of an enemy. For ten long hours the victory was held in doubtful balance; and was then decided by the skilful generalship of young Edward. He, though little more than a boy, had assumed the crown which his father feared to take, and displayed not the rash courage of a youth, but the genius of a great commander.

The pitiless snow storm, which had been the powerful ally of the Yorkists while the battle raged, befriended the Lancastrians in their flight.

The circumstances of Morton's escape are unknown. We are merely told by Grafton, "that the parson of Blocksworth fled the realm with the queen and the prince, and never returned, but to the field of Barnet." *

He escaped with the loss of everything which could have rendered life dear to him. He was immediately attainted as a traitor. In the act of attainder, he was described as "John Morton, late parson of Blokesworth, in the shire of Dorset, clerk." John Morton,

* Grafton, ii 122.

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clerk, is also among those "convicted of high treason, and condemned to lose all their possessions."*

I next find him in attendance upon Queen Margaret in the November of 1462. She was at that time in Flanders, attended by certain knights, and by John Morton and Robert Mackerel, doctors. Her suite at this time numbered two hundred persons.† She was kindly received at Bruges, by the Count de Charolois, and the Duke of Burgundy. Her court was, for a season, lodged in the monastery of the Carmelites. The duke assisted her with a small donation of money, and she then joined her father.

That Morton was still in attendance on Queen Margaret in the year 1463, we happen to know from a letter, recently discovered, and addressed by the celebrated lawyer, Sir John Fortescue, to the Earl of Ormond, at that time in Portugal.‡ The letter is dated "At Seynte Mighel in Barroys," in Louvain, where the queen was residing with the Prince of Wales, her son. She still held a kind of court, the rallying-point of the Lancastrians, but the privations to which they were subjected were very severe.

The Lancastrians were almost driven to despair, when a spark of hope warmed their hearts by the intelligence of the impolitic marriage of Edward IV.

Although Edward's queen was not of that humble origin attributed to her by her enemies; still her elevation to the throne was regarded with feelings of envy, hatred, and malice in many quarters, the existence of

* Rot. Parl. v. 477.

† W. Wyrcestre, *Annals*, 781, ed. Stevenson.

‡ Bibliothec. Nationale, Paris, Baluze. MS. 9037. Art. 173. Holograph. Communicated by Mrs. Everett Green and published in the *Archæological Journal*, vii. 170.

these feelings being easily surmised, even when not openly expressed. The factious spirit displayed by the Wydviles,—the encouragement given by the king to the new nobility, all seemed, to the sagacious lawyer, to be preparing the way for Margaret and her son. The restoration appeared to the exiles as a thing almost certain when it was announced that the great Earl of Warwick—the man who reigned over the hearts of the English—had separated from the usurper, as King Edward was regarded by the Lancastrians. Whether the proud Earl of Warwick would bow his head so low as to become a suppliant for pardon to the queen he had so greatly wronged; whether Margaret would exhibit that greatness of mind, which, to win a kingdom for her son, would overcome her just indignation against the man who had sought to brand her name with infamy, and to bastardize her child; these were questions for the solution of which the members of Margaret's court were looking with impatience. Upon the decision, one way or other, of these potentates, depended their return to their native land, or their perpetual exile. When the two great personages were reconciled, and Warwick had become the father-in-law of the future king of England; when, by the policy of Louis XI., the three great families of York, Lancaster, and Neville were united by a triple cord; when the King of France was Margaret's avowed ally; and the Duke of Burgundy ceased to be an enthusiastic friend of Edward,—then it was supposed, that all who looked for safety in England would make the white rose red, if the red rose did not already adorn their breasts.*

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* It is to be observed that one of the stipulations on the part of Warwick was, that he was to be justiciary, or *de facto* ruler of

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To the suite of Warwick, Morton, among other members of the queen's family, was attached. He left Angers on the 4th of August, and landed at Dartmouth on the 13th of September.

Warwick, who, in point of power, wealth, and territorial possessions, was little less than a king; and whose personal popularity exceeded that of King Edward in his most popular days, was soon at the head of an army of seventy thousand men; and Queen Margaret, who knew, that to the rule of "the foreign woman" the country would not submit, was willing to place everything at Warwick's disposal, and to be guided as he might direct. What was Morton's office at this time, does not appear. He was probably attached to Warwick's army, as the minister appointed to communicate with the queen.

King Edward was proclaimed a usurper, a traitor to his king and country; but the news arrived that he only laughed at the enterprise, and scarcely deigned to exert himself to put down the insurrection, which he thought would be dispersed by its own insignificance. The Lancastrians, however, had hardly time to express the indignation which contempt is sure to excite, when fresh news arrived that King Edward had fled the country, and that his family had taken sanctuary at Westminster. His army had been demoralized at Lynn; and while the return of Queen Margaret was hourly expected, King Edward was already an exile. Morton and Fortescue were immediately sent to London to prepare for the reception of Warwick; and the two lawyers were actively em-

England, that is to say, the incapacity of Henry to govern the country was assumed.

ployed in making the counter-revolution conformable, as far as possible, to the laws of the land.

Warwick entered London in triumph. What induced the magistrates of London, who had been generally attached to the house of York, and among whom King Edward had been greatly popular, to unite with the common people in the enthusiastic cry of "a Warwick, a Warwick," it is impossible, with our present materials, to surmise; but the fact was, that the Lancastrians were in possession of the metropolis. Henry, in his imbecility, was made to wear his robes of state; and the people were preparing to give a hearty welcome to the once-hated Queen Margaret. Her sorrows, her patience, the late sound policy of her proceedings, indicating her readiness to pardon all past offences, had caused a reaction in her favour. Relays of horses had been ordered to convey her, as soon as possible, on her arrival, from the south coast to London. But her arrival was looked for in vain. The unloyal March winds repelled her from the English shore; and throughout the month the weather was more than usually boisterous.

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But violent as the storms were, they were braved by King Edward; who, like all great generals, knew the value of despatch. While the Lancastrians were waiting for the queen, to celebrate their triumph in London, the news came that King Edward was once more in England. On the 14th of March he had landed at Ravenspur. Warwick was a brave soldier; Edward was a soldier as brave, and he possessed, moreover, the genius of a general. By his carelessness he had lost the crown for a short time; but he was, as a man, scarcely less popular than his rival, and with manners yet more winning. An army gathered itself. Like a

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snowball, it increased as it rolled on. It is wonderful how, when every man was an archer, or a man-at-arms, armies increased at almost a moment's warning. At the head of this army there was, besides, a general who knew how to handle it.

The rapidity of the great general's movements was such, and his march was conducted with so much skill, that before Warwick knew of his landing, Edward was already in force, and seeking a battle in the mid-land counties. His object was to attack his opponent before the Lancastrians could concentrate their forces. At Coventry the army of Warwick was weakened, and that of Edward strengthened, by the desertion of Clarence, "false, fleeting, perjured." Within twenty-eight days of his landing, Edward was before the gates of London. On the 10th of April, possession was taken of the Tower in his name, and the unresisting Henry was again a captive where a few days before he had been exhibited as a king. On the 11th of April, Edward himself entered London, and was received by the fickle Londoners with acclamations, louder and less insincere, than those with which a few weeks before they had welcomed Warwick. On the 14th of April the battle of Barnet was fought, on which field perished Warwick himself.

Morton hastened to the south coast, to convey the sad tidings to the queen and the prince. He found them just landed at Weymouth, seeking the repose which a tempestuous passage of thirteen long hours seemed to demand.

Morton took the poor broken-hearted queen to the home of his boyhood, and the good Benedictines of Cerne dared the wrath of the conqueror, and offered her an asylum. Morton had to announce to her, that

the Lancastrian party, though not extinct, was without a leader,—unless Queen Margaret were herself prepared to take the command. Of Margaret all the historians agree in stating that, at this sad time, her brave heart was crushed. The spirit had died within her. Truly she might say :

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“I am the most unhappy woman living :
Shipwrecked upon a kingdom, where no pity,
No friends, no hope ; no kindred weep for me ;
Almost, no grave allowed me.”

Cerne was not considered to be a place of sufficient security. She was therefore removed to Beaulieu, a monastery which the chroniclers inform us enjoyed privileges of sanctuary equal to those which had been accorded to St. Peter's, Westminster. The coincidence is striking : Queen Margaret and her only son must have been seeking sanctuary at Beaulieu, just at that very time when her rival, Queen Elizabeth, had recovered sufficiently from her confinement, to be able to carry her infant, another Edward, another Prince of Wales, another victim to national strife, from the sanctuary at Westminster.

It does not come within our province to describe the meetings held by the Lancastrian party at Beaulieu. For, although Morton, as a privy counsellor, must have been consulted on the occasion, yet he took no prominent part in the proceedings. The Lancastrian party was still strong enough to keep the field ; but no one knew better than Margaret, that the movements of an army without a general are as powerless as the struggles of a corpse after decapitation. Warwick was no more ; and to no one else would the lawless leaders of the party defer as they had deferred to him.

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The Yorkists, whom he had seduced from their allegiance to Edward, were not likely to yield obedience to a woman whom, if they could not despise, they had always hated. It was one thing to follow Warwick ; quite another thing to become the liege-men of Margaret. The queen was no longer what she had been. To win a throne for her child, Margaret had become an Amazon ; and now, to save that son's life, she desired to resign all hopes of a crown, and to fly. But this was not permitted.

"They have tied me to a stake, I cannot fly ;
But, bear-like, I must fight my cause."

The Lancastrians remembered what she had been,—

"Hos super advenit
Agmen agens equitum, et florentes ære catervas
Bellatrix :"

And still as she passed—

"Illam omnis tectis agrique effusa juvenus
Turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
Attonitis inhians animis."

But she, who had been accustomed to rally her forces, and to lead them, was now unwillingly dragged to Tewkesbury, there to witness the ruin of her party. The son she idolized was dead ; within a few days the motherless woman was a widow ; and her own life depended on her not making too minute inquiries into the actions by which her child and her husband were sent from this world to the next. Even the hope of vengeance had died within her.

The battle of Tewkesbury, in the meantime, released Morton from his allegiance to the Lancastrian party.

All persons were weary of the civil war. To Margaret, "a foreign woman," no loyalty was due. She, queen consort, had now become merely the queen dowager. She conducted herself, it must be remarked, with great propriety. She had nothing now to lose or to fight for. She permitted all those who, while the triumph of the Lancastrians was a thing possible, clung to her fortunes, to make the best terms they could with the reigning power. There was nothing to prevent them from doing this. The very principle of loyalty, which they had so chivalrously maintained, now that the Lancastrians in the direct line had ceased to exist, prompted them to submission to King Edward. After the death of Henry VI., and of his son, Edward, Prince of Wales, there was no one who could establish so good a claim upon the allegiance of the English people, as Edward IV. His claim by right of birth was stronger than any that could be put forth by any prince of the House of Lancaster; it was, indeed, indisputable. If the Lancastrian dynasty rested, as it did, on the will of parliament, by that will the succession of Edward was confirmed. He vindicated his right by force of arms; and the middle class accepted his sovereignty with acclamation. A more popular king than Edward IV., with all his many faults and the immoralities of his conduct, never perhaps sat upon the English throne.

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By the death of Henry and his son, the Lancastrians had only become a faction; and the faction itself had not yet determined who should be its leader. Under these circumstances, Morton did not hesitate to send in his adhesion to the existing Government. Edward IV. was one of those men of careless mind, who felt, that any one else in his place would do as he had done; and

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never supposed that his severities would be regarded as other than justifiable, because expedient. His policy was to destroy the leaders of the opposite faction ; but, being now without a rival on the throne, to extend his pardon to the less prominent partizans of the Red Rose. He listened graciously to the petitions for pardon, which poured in from all sides ; and in the ensuing parliament he reversed many attainders ; among them was reversed the attainder of Dr. Morton.*

Whether Henry VI. came to his death naturally or by foul means ; whether Edward, Prince of Wales, was slain in the presence of Edward by the Duke of Gloucester and others, or whether he died in battle, invoking in vain the commiseration of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Clarence,—these are questions upon which the opinions of men are, even at the present time, divided. Among Morton's contemporaries there was the Yorkist account, which satisfied the partizans of the existing Government ; and there were the Lancastrian suspicions of foul play, which were so extremely probable that, on the return of the Lancastrians to power, their surmises were accepted as facts which it was dangerous to dispute. Whatever may have been his opinion afterwards, Morton was, at this time, satisfied with the Yorkist statements ; and he did not think it necessary to make further enquiries. To Margaret no allegiance was due ; and of her treatment there was no reason to complain. She was, though a prisoner of state, treated as became her rank until she was ransomed by France. To this, according to the principles of the age, no objection could be urged. Morton, therefore, now threw himself heartily into

* His petition may be read in Rot. Parl. vi. 26. It is too long for transcription here, although to the archæologist it is interesting.

the service of Edward; and by his business habits and his engaging manners, he soon obtained the confidence of his sovereign. Edward felt that he who had, by suffering, proved his loyalty to Henry while he lived, would be a loyal subject to himself; and from that time upon Morton preferments were heaped.

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They were so numerous, that for the sake of brevity, and to avoid repetition, they shall be here at once transcribed:—

Subdean of Lincoln, 1450, resigned 1458; Principal of Peckwater Inn, 1453; Prebendary of Fordington, with Writhlington in Cathedral of Salisbury, 1458, resigned 1476; Prebendary of Coringham in Cathedral of Lincoln, 1458; Prebendary of Lichfield, 1465; Rector of St. Dunstan's-in-the East, London, collated by Archbishop Bourchier, 1472; Prebendary of Isledon, St. Paul's, 1472, resigned 1473; Master of the Rolls, 1472; Prebendary of Chiswick, St. Paul's, 1473; Archdeacon of Winchester, 1474; Archdeacon of Chester, 1474; Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1475; Prebendary of St. Decuman in Cathedral of Wells, 1475; Prebendary of South Newbald in Cathedral of York, 1476, resigned same year; Archdeacon of Berkshire, 1477; Archdeacon of Leicester, 1477; Bishop of Ely, 1479; Lord Chancellor of England, 1486.

The character in which Morton appeared most prominent, during the reign of Edward IV. was that of Master of the Rolls. The Mastership of the Rolls* had by this time become an important office. We have before mentioned its origin as an office distinct from that of a Master of the Chancery in the reign of Edward I. The first who received a distinct appoint-

* His patent is dated March 16, 1472. Rot. Parl. 12 Edward IV. p. 1, m. 15.

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ment as Master of the Rolls was John de Langton, bishop of Chichester.* This officer was originally appointed for the superintendence of writs and records appertaining to the common law department of the Court of Chancery. At what time the judicial duties of the Court of the Master of the Rolls commenced, is a subject upon which opinions differ. The duties were not clearly defined till the reign of George II. The patent of the Mastership of the Rolls was renewed to Morton on the 2d of May, 1475, with permission to reside in any part of the town which might suit his convenience. The former patent had implied the necessity of his residing in the *domus conversorum*, which continued to be the official residence of the Masters until the present century.†

His office was no sinecure, for the public documents had evidently fallen into confusion during the civil war. The historian can obtain little or no assistance during this period from any existing records of the Privy Council; but if the reader will take the trouble to consult the rolls of parliament, he will there see how diligently Dr. Morton laboured to bring them into anything like regularity and form. His labours in this department were publicly acknowledged; and as they did not, of necessity, belong to his office as Master of the Rolls, they may be mentioned as a proof of his love of business. The irregularities of the time were increased by the determination of King Edward to keep things in his own hands. Notwithstanding

* The title of *Custos Rotulorum cancellariæ domini Regis* is attached for the first time to the name of John de Langton, in an entry on a patent roll of 14 Edward I. 1286. Foss, iii. 12. Hardy's Catalogue, 13; see also Blackstone and Stephens, iii. 409.

† Rot. Parl. 15 Edw. IV. p. 1, m. 9.

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his love of pleasure, Edward, like his grandson, Henry VIII., was a man of business; and had his eye upon every department of the state. But in his case, as in that of some of our own contemporaries who profess to have an abhorrence of "red tape," the inattention shown to little things often conduced to inextricable confusion. Soon after Morton's appointment as Master of the Rolls, for example, we find the existence of two Lord Chancellors,—one of them to officiate in England, the other to wait upon the king in France.* At other times we find the king acting irregularly with reference to the great seal, and from a gossiping letter written by Sir John Paston from Norwich, we may infer, that, though they were too cautious to utter a word of censure, the irregularity was not unnoticed by his subjects. The letter is dated the 15th of April, 1473, not long after Morton's appointment to the Rolls; and it possesses an historical interest. The writer mentions to his "worshipful and well-beloved brother," that in the neighbourhood of Norwich, "the world seemeth queasy (unsettled); for the most part they that be about the king have sent hither for their harness, and it is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, schewing (pretending) that he would but (only) deal with the Duke of Gloucester. But the king intendeth, in eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a stiffler atween them; and some men think that under this, there be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired; so what shall fall can I not say. . . . Item, the king hath

* A curious explanation of this anomaly is given by Mr. Foss, assisted by Mr. Duffus Hardy, in the History of the Judges of England, iv. 384. .

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sent for his great seal; some say we shall have a new chancellor, but some think, that the king doth as he did at the last field, he will have the seal with him, but this day Doctor Morton, Master of the Rolls, rideth to the king and beareth the seast (seals) with him." *

The counsels of the king had a further object than that which suggested itself to Sir John Paston's mind. He was designing to take vengeance upon the King of France for the assistance he had rendered to the Earl of Warwick in his late rebellion. He was urged to attack France by the Duke of Burgundy, and other discontented vassals of the French king. They called upon Edward to assert once more the claim of the king of England to the French throne, and professed their readiness to do him homage. Edward acted with precaution. He secured the friendship of the king of Scotland. Morton was sent on an embassy, in 1474, to the Emperor and to the King of Hungary, to concert a league with them against Lewis XI. The king was occupied during that year, in raising sufficient funds to support the army for which he was now recruiting. He introduced the system of benevolences; and when we connect the high favour with Edward to which Morton had suddenly risen, with the underhand modes of raising money afterwards adopted by the servants of Henry VII., of whom Morton was one; we must suspect, that the Master of the Rolls had some share in suggesting to the royal mind that plan of benevolences, at first so plausible, and really so oppressive.

When all was planned and prepared for a foreign expedition, Edward reviewed his troops at Sandwich. His army consisted of fifteen hundred men-at-arms,

* Paston Letters, ii. 131.

and ten times that number of archers. From Sandwich he despatched the Garter King-at-Arms to demand the French crown of Lewis.* He immediately sailed for Calais, his own town, where he was to receive the answer. Dr. Morton, Master of the Rolls and a member of his Privy Council, was at this time attached to the royal household.

By modern historians the transactions which then took place are considered to have been discreditable not only to Edward, but also to his nobles and ministers, including Morton. They are supposed indeed to have reflected disgrace upon the country. But an opposite opinion may be formed by those who examine the subject carefully and dispassionately. In the first place, we must remember, that the claim to the crown of France by the kings of England was personal; there was no intention of making France and England one nation. This was clearly demanded by parliament and asserted by Edward III., before he could obtain supplies for his French war. But notwithstanding this, a war with France was always popular in England. It was sure to be supported, as De Commynes observes, by the nobility, commons, and clergy, from their desire of gain. For, observes the minister of Lewis, it pleased God to permit their predecessors to win many battles over the French and to carry back into England enormous booty, not only in plunder taken in the towns they captured, but in the richness and quality of their prisoners, who paid them vast ransoms for their liberty. So that every Englishman ever afterwards trusted to do the same thing, and to return home laden with the

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* "Written," says De Commynes, "in such an elegant style, and in such polite language, that I can scarcely believe that an Englishman wrote it."—Lib. iv.

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spoils of France.* Edward III., the Black Prince, and Henry V. the former conquerors of France, had been instigated also by the love of military glory, and the hope of distinction for their valour. In Edward IV., the victor in nine battles, the latter motive was less prominent; while the love of pleasure was even stronger in him than it had been in any of his illustrious ancestors.

This was the state of public opinion and expectation when Edward landed at Calais. It had been arranged that here he should be joined by the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, and it was proposed that the allied armies should divide France into two independent States. The price to be paid by Edward, for the assistance rendered by the Duke of Burgundy, was that the latter should have possession of the northern and eastern provinces without any obligation of fealty or homage.† When Edward, however, arrived at Calais, he found that the duke was either unable or unwilling to provide the promised assistance; that he would accept his share of the spoils of conquered France, but permit Edward to fight the battle alone. Edward, in fact, was in the position of a prize-fighter, who, on entering the ring, would find his left hand paralyzed; and who, if he were to fight at all, would contend against his enemy single-handed. He was, as a general, much too sagacious, not to perceive all the difficulties of his position; and even De Commynes admits that the English were anxious to enter into a treaty with Lewis, before Lewis proposed a treaty to them.

De Commynes informs us, that the king, his master, declared that he would do anything in the world to get the King of England out of France, except putting

* De Commynes, vi.

† *Fœdera*, xi. 804, 814.

him in possession of any of his towns. Rather than do that, he would hazard all. He was ready to pay any price ; and a heavy price he had to pay. De Commynes is roused almost to enthusiasm by his admiration of the craft and subtlety of Lewis XI. Of the English he says they do not manage their treaties and capitulations with so much cunning and policy as do the French, let people say what they will ; but they proceed more ingenuously and with greater straightforwardness in their affairs. Nevertheless, he adds, a man must be cautious, and have a care not to affront them, for it is dangerous meddling with them.*

We accept the compliment ; but as there were some who, in the time of De Commynes, differed in the opinions they formed of the ability with which these negotiations were conducted, we incline to the English view of the subject. De Commynes is the very best authority for the designs and conduct of Lewis, but what he says with reference to the English is mere conjecture. His master did get rid of the English, and so far he was successful. Edward desired to have his family seated on the throne of France, and by the proposed marriage of his daughter with the Dauphin he secured a succession to the French crown for his grandson. He could not, of course, foreknow that Lewis upon that point would not keep faith, but be guilty of an act of perjury. Edward desired to have the expenses of the campaign paid, and to have something over for himself, such as would have been the case, if he had fought his way to victory. He obtained the money he required, and an annual tribute was paid to him by the king of France. Edward desired, that the noblemen and others who had volun-

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* De Commynes, lib. iv. ad ann. 1475.

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teered their services should return to England enriched, and as they had no opportunity of acquiring wealth by the plunder of towns or the ransom of captured princes, he permitted them to receive large gratuities from the French king.*

We can now understand the instructions which were given by the two kings respectively to their commissioners, when they met at a village to arrange the terms of a treaty between the belligerents. Edward had the vantage-ground. The overture of peace had been made by Lewis. Among the commissioners were, according to Commynes, Lord Howard, one Challenger, and one Doctor Morton; there was, in fact, another, William Dudley, Dean of the Chapel Royal. The terms finally agreed on were that the King of England should return to England with his army, as soon as Lewis had paid him the sum of 75,000 crowns.

A truce of seven years was concluded between the two sovereigns, commencing at the date of the treaty, and terminating at sunset on the 29th of August, 1482. Prince Charles, the son of Lewis XI. was to wed Elizabeth the daughter of Edward IV., as soon as they were both of marriageable age. The king of France

* The French afterwards endeavoured to represent this tribute paid to the King of England by the King of France as a bribe. De Commynes states that Lewis was extremely angry when such language was used, knowing that it might involve him in hostilities with England. The money paid to the English ministers being paid with the King of England's full consent, was not considered by them as a bribe. Edward openly said, that he could not act without the consent of his Council, and that they must share in the spoils of France as well as himself. He says expressly that Lewis permitted it to be called tribute by the English, showing that they repudiated the notion of a bribe.—De Commynes, ad ann. 1477.

engaged to pay annually to the King of England, in two instalments, the sum of 50,000 crowns.*

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It must have been peculiarly gratifying to Morton, to have been instrumental, on the 29th of August, in negotiating the ransom for Queen Margaret. Lewis stipulated to pay £50,000 for her ransom, and on the payment of the first instalment on the 3d of November following, the unfortunate lady was permitted to quit the shores of England, to which she never returned.

Among the officers, who composed the council of King Edward in France and were attached to his household, Lewis distributed 16,000 crowns. They were not numerous, and the chancellor, Archbishop Rotherham, and Doctor Morton the Master of the Rolls, are among the persons particularly named as having their share in this "spoiling of the Egyptians." Although Morton was munificent on great occasions, yet he was avaricious and grasping; he was, consequently, never a popular man. At the same time, he had the faculty of attaching to him personally and of winning the friendship,—sometimes (as in the case of Sir Thomas More) the enthusiastic friendship,—of those who were, by circumstances, connected with him. He was himself a kind, loyal, devoted friend, ever ready to assist and support all in whom his confidence was placed. To Edward IV. he became a personal friend, and on his friendship the queen and her family relied. Their sentiments were in accordance with his own. The family of Elizabeth Wydville had been Lancastrians; and they never harmonized in feeling with the old Yorkist families. They, in their turn, had no sympathy with Lancastrians such as Morton, who had become

* *Fœdera*, v. pt. iii. 65-68. De Commynes, by mistake, represents the truce as being made for nine years.

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loyal to Edward, merely because there was no longer a Lancastrian pretender in the field.

In 1479, Morton resigned the Mastership of the Rolls in favour of his nephew Robert Morton. He does not appear to have held any other public office in this reign.

Through the favour of the king and of his first patron, Archbishop Bouchier, Morton had heaped upon himself, as we have seen, a multitude of preferments; but Edward now desired to see his friend advanced to a higher post of honour, and to secure his services in the House of Lords. To confer a peerage upon a man of humble birth was possible; but it always excited the indignation of the ancient aristocracy. In the case of an ecclesiastic, such an elevation was needless. It was through the episcopate, that persons in the lower or middle classes of society first obtained their footing among the nobles of the land. The king and the Master of the Rolls were on the watch for the first vacancy on the bench of bishops, and on the very day in which Dr. Gray,* the bishop of Ely, died,

* William Gray is supposed by some to have been descended from the noble family of the Greys of Codnor. But the difference in the spelling of the name, and of the arms, must render this a doubtful surmise. He was educated at Balliol College at Oxford, and was a benefactor to the same. Being a man of fortune, he removed from Oxford to Ferrara, where he studied under Guarini of Verona; and became a Greek and Hebrew scholar. In 1434, he was Rector of Amersham in Bucks; and, on the 16th of May of that year, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Northampton. Both these preferments he held until he became bishop. In 1443, he was Chancellor of Oxford, having graduated in divinity in 1440. He held a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral, and two in York Minster, though possibly he may have resigned the prebend of Barnby before he accepted that of Driffild, having been collated to the first in 1447, and to Driffild 1452. On the 3d of March, 1449-50, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Richmond. Bentham

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the Lord Prior of that convent received the *congé d'élire*, together with the royal nomination of John Morton. On the next day, the obedient chapter elected the royal nominee to be their bishop. This was in August, 1478. On the 4th of January, 1479, the temporalities were restored, and on the 31st of that month, John Morton was consecrated by his friend, Archbishop Bouchier, in the chapel of Lambeth.* He prepared for his installation, of which we happen to possess a minute description. It was conducted on a scale of such magnificence as to show that, if Morton was eager in raising money, he was not niggardly in his expenditure. It was towards the end of August that, accompanied by his nephew, Robert, who had just been appointed Master of the Rolls, he arrived at one of the episcopal manors, not far from Ely, called Downham. Morton was evidently a man of earnest

says that he had been previously Archdeacon of Northumberland, but he is not in Le Neve's text. He was a student, but was employed in the public service, being constituted by Henry VI. his proctor at the Court of Rome. His learning recommended him to Nicolas V., who appointed him Referendary and Notary Apostolic. According to Godwyn, he was Lord Chancellor, and according to Richardson, Lord Treasurer, in 1469-70, but he certainly did not fill the former office. He was appointed, in 1467, by Edward IV., his especial commissioner to treat of peace with Henry, king of Castile. He was again employed in 1471, 1472, and 1473, to treat of peace with James III., king of Scotland. On the translation of Bouchier to Canterbury, William Gray was nominated by the king as Bouchier's successor; he was elected by the convent; he was provided by the pope. He was consecrated Bishop of Ely by the archbishop at Mortlake, on the 8th of September, 1454. He was a great benefactor to his church. He resided in his see, and was much respected. He was a great invalid for some time before his death, an event which took place at Downham on the 4th of August, 1478.

* Stubbs, 71. Ang. Sac. i. 674.

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piety, although the form of his piety assumed, in many respects, what we should now regard as superstition. When he looked back to his past history, and contemplated his present elevation, he was oppressed by a deep sense of humility; and it was in accordance with the feeling of the age to make an outward demonstration of what it would have been hypocrisy to conceal. On arriving at Downham he desired that he might not be interrupted by secular business. After a night passed in prayer, and while yet fasting, he set out, on the morning of the 29th of August, to walk from Downham to Ely. He was arrayed only in his rochet; his head was uncovered; his feet were exposed to the hard ground; he had not on his sandals.* His beads were in his hand; and he devoutly uttered his Pater-nosters. He rested at St. Mary's church, taking his seat in the chancel, and making an offering of five shillings. Wherever, on this occasion, he made an offering, the sum of five shillings is mentioned. The parochial clergy here approached their new bishop, and evinced their humility by washing his feet, soiled by his walk.

The parochial clergy formed a procession. The bishop, still barefooted and his head uncovered, approached the cathedral. The great west door, as he drew near, was thrown open. He raised his eyes and saw the crowded cathedral splendidly decorated: the whole pathway along the nave, from the west door to

* The words are, "prædictus dominus episcopus discalciatus, discooperto capite et nudis pedibus." This is not tautology. The expression "barefooted," in the old chronicles, meant the not wearing sandals or soles, but buskins only.—Maskell, iii. 67. On this occasion Morton dispensed with even his buskins, so that his feet required washing.

the high altar, carpeted ; tapers blazing from all the altars, and in front of every shrine ; the throne festooned with flowers ; the monks arranged in a semicircle at the entrance. The lord prior delivered to him the *aspersorium* ; having touched the holy water and crossed him, he aspersed the chapter, and the archdeacon and subprior incensed the bishop. The cross was handed to him ; he kissed it ; and, raising himself, stood beside it, while the notary public, in a clear and distinct voice, read the royal mandate for his installation, which detailed the duties of a bishop. The lord bishop signified his readiness to make the usual oaths, and, this done, the precentor intoned the *Preces Summæ Trinitati*, and the procession moved to the high altar. The bishop's sedile was as splendidly decorated as the throne, and contrasted with the unadorned, travel-stained man, who, instead of seating himself, bent the knee, while over him the lord prior prayed. He rose, and, kneeling before the high altar, offered his five shillings. The præcentor intoned the *O Rex Christi*, and the choir took up the chant, the whole congregation joining, whilst the bishop went in procession to the shrine of St. Etheldreda, where he again offered five shillings. Here was another throne, and again the bishop knelt as before, while over him the lord prior said the prayer *Deus qui eximia castitatis*, &c. The relics were exposed, and one by one they were kissed by the bishop, who once more offered five shillings, as he did at each shrine, which he visited in order. He was still barefooted, and clad only in his rochet ; but when all the shrines had been visited, he entered the vestry, and the cathedral clergy washed his feet ; with due ceremony and prayer they arrayed him in his pontificals.

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There was silence for a space. Many were devoutly praying. Almost every eye was turned towards the vestry door. The voice of the choir was heard. The vestry door was open. The procession came forth. Last of all appeared, in all the magnificence of his pontificals, his jewelled mitre on his head, his rich pastoral staff in his gloved hand, his feet clad with sandals, and treading the rich carpet, the Lord Bishop of Ely. Every knee was bent as, first on one side, then on the other, he waved his benediction. The lord bishop stood beside the great throne, which was placed near the high altar.* All again was silent. The commission of the Archdeacon of Canterbury addressed to the lord prior, the Archdeacon of Ely and the Clerk of the Rolls was read. The lord prior took the bishop by the right hand, and, accompanied by the other commissioners, amidst the shouts of the assembled multitude, seated the bishop on his throne. The shout passed into a cordial response, the whole congregation joining in the *Te Deum*, which the præcentor had intoned, and the whole choir was singing. While the *Te Deum* was sung, the bishop descending from his throne, and attended by the monks, proceeded to his stall in the choir. The lord prior and the other commissioners installed him.

The bishop, now enthroned and installed, moved to a sedile before the altar of St. Peter. Here he received the homage of the prior and the convent. Each, when he had reached the highest of the three steps, bent the

* According to Ducange and Maskell, it was not unusual for temporary cathedræ to be placed in the cathedral on such occasions. The usual place for the Bishop of Ely, except on state occasions, was and still is the abbots' stall, as he was the Lord Abbot of the monastery.

knee, and kissing, first the hand, and then the cheek of the bishop, wheeled off to the vestry, where the bishop joined them. He then celebrated high mass with great solemnity and melody.*

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When the ceremonies in the church were concluded, the bishop took possession of the palace. Here a splendid hospitality was exhibited to all comers, rich and poor. The invited and privileged guests were in the bishop's own hall; and, as usual, we possess a bill of fare. On former occasions I have presented such documents to the reader, because they tended to throw light upon the manners of the age; but I need not give here what only differs from preceding bills of fare in some points of detail. We would remark, however, in the time of Morton, as in our own age, French cooks were employed, and that they described their handiwork in the French language. With the venison we find roasted swan, and a porpoise stewed; there was a stork and a peacock, with the feathers of its tail set up and extended. There were, of course, many "subtillties," of which we need mention only one. It was a device made of jelly and confectionery, in which reference is made to the king.

"Thinke and Thanke, prelate of great prise,
That it hath pleased the abundant grace
Of King Edward, in all his actions wise,
Thee to promote higher to his please.
This little Isle, while thou hast time and space
For to repair, do aye thy busy care;
For thy reward of Heaven thou shalt be sure."

During the few remaining years of Edward's reign, Bishop Morton remained in private life, and in the

* E MS. Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, No. 3721. It is printed in Latin in an appendix to Bentham.

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discharge of his ecclesiastical duties. He held no prominent position in the State. That Edward regarded him as a personal friend, is certain; and he was appointed, in 1475, one of the commissioners for paying off the king's debts out of the proceeds of his private estate.

It is generally asserted, that Morton was engaged in the education of the Prince of Wales. This is highly probable, but if it were so, he occupied a subordinate position. He may have been a kind of private tutor, who undertook to train the heir apparent in the ways of virtue at the earnest request of an anxious father.*

At the head of the prince's household were placed the Bishop of Rochester and the Earl Rivers. Their appointment evinced the anxiety of the king in what related to his son's education, which is further shewn in the regulations which he issued for the young prince's governance, of which an interesting account has been published by the Camden Society.

The leisure hours of Morton were now occupied in laying in those stores of learning and of thought which, at a future period, enabled him to become one of the most eminent statesmen of our country,—himself probably an author, as we shall presently have occasion to remark, and certainly the Mæcenas to rising excellence. His recreation was in the cultivation of those extensive gardens, in Holborn; where, whatever else may be expected to luxuriate, we shall not, in these days, find flowers blooming or fruit ripening. His mansion house, called the Bell, together with nine cottages in Holborn, were bequeathed by Bishop

* This appears from Edward's will, which is given in the *Excerpta Historica*, 368.

Kirkby in 1298, to the convent of Ely, to be the town residence of the bishops of that see. A vineyard, kitchen garden, orchard, and enclosed pasture, were added in 1327, by Bishop Hotham. Archbishop Arundel, when Bishop of Ely, rebuilt the house, and added the gate-house in front. The grounds occupied twenty acres.

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On passing through the palace gateway, the visitor found himself in a small paved court: on the right were the offices supported by a colonnade; on the left was the garden; in the front stood the hall, 72 feet long, 32 feet wide, about 30 feet high, and lighted by six tall windows. The floor was paved with tiles, and it was roofed with oak, leaded. At the lower end was an oaken screen, with hatches opening from the kitchen and cellar. At the upper end was the daïs. On the west were the chief lodging-rooms and other apartments. On the north-west there was a square cloister, 95 feet by 73, enclosing another garden or paradise, and over it were rooms and galleries. On the north side of the cloister, in a field containing about an acre of ground, walled and planted with trees, stood the chapel, 91 feet by 39, dedicated to St. Etheldreda. There was a crypt beneath the chapel.*

Here, perhaps, Morton passed the happiest and best years of his eventful life, occasionally visiting his other manors, and doing the duties of his episcopal office, when he was not in waiting upon the prince. He renewed also his intercourse with Oxford, where he had many friends, and where he enjoyed the conversation of learned men.

* I have taken this account of the manor of the Bishops of Ely from a description preserved in the appendix to Bentham.

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In the year 1483, the friends of the king were beginning to be anxious about his health. Soon after his return from France Edward had an ague which he could not shake off, and while his body was shivering with cold, the joyousness of temper by which he had always been distinguished gave way to a settled melancholy. He took a gloomy view of all things, public and domestic. He had been overreached by Lewis of France ; and this, instead of rousing him to fury, as it would have done formerly, depressed his spirits to such an extent, that he sought to rouse them by having recourse, contrary to the advice of his physicians, to those pleasures of the table in which he had freely indulged, and by which his constitution had been undermined. Still his friends had faith in a constitution, which had hitherto sustained with equal impunity the hardships of a military campaign, and the incessant underminings of dissipation in a voluptuous court. It was not supposed that, when little more than forty years of age, such a man would have succumbed to an ague ; neither would this have been the case, if he had acted with common prudence. The immediate cause of his death was, no doubt, a surfeit.

Edward's principles were sound, though they were never strong enough to induce him to resist temptation or to act with true generosity ; and now, in the absence of temptation, he lay on his deathbed a wise and a penitent man. He summoned his friends to hear his last words, and to receive his comments upon the will he had already made, and to which he now added several codicils. Among them came the Bishop of Ely, who, when he returned to his lovely walks in the garden at Holborn, expressed his conviction, that a

wand more powerful than that of Moses had stricken the stony heart of King Edward, from which flowed the deep waters of repentance, streaming from his eyes.

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The king addressed his friends and trusty counsellors on the subjects nearest to his heart. A faithless husband, he still loved the wife whose unimpassioned and ambitious character connived at his licentiousness, that she might share his throne, and live in peace. To his children he had always been a fond parent. He now implored his divided court to maintain the cause of the White Rose, and to promote the well-being of his family and of his kingdom; by their united counsels, and by discarding those feelings of suspicion which had been the occasion of discord among persons whose strength lay in union, harmony, and peace among themselves. The advice was easy for a wise man, now passionless, to give, but not easy for those to follow who had never been schooled to discipline their malignant passions, or to moderate their ambitious hopes.

Edward had many friends. A good-natured man, he found pleasure in serving those who served him; he made their interests his own. A thoroughly selfish man, he was surrounded by enemies; if his dearest friend had stood in his way, he would have dashed him to the earth, although he had just before raised him to a pinnacle, from which to dash him made his fall the greater. Although revenge was sweet to him, he was placable, and would easily forgive. Affable to all, he never permitted his affability to degenerate into a vulgar air of condescension; and although he encouraged all to speak their minds freely in his presence, nobody ever ventured to take a liberty

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with the handsome, rollicking young king. An excitable man, he would be seen in the morning weeping at his devotions ; and soon after, without a tear, consigning hundreds of his fellow-creatures to destruction, and concluding the day at the house of some citizen who sought his favour by pandering to his vices. He found pleasure in the conversation of the noble, the wise, and the good ; while he listened with equal satisfaction to the flattery of the courtesan, the epicure, the parasite, and the buffoon. In war he shared the hardships of the common soldier, or joined with him in his sports ; while as a general, his intuitions were such, that, seeing through the mist, and hearing in the midst of noise, his presence of mind never forsook him, and he could command the victory. In peace he was among merchants the most shrewd and money-making ; while in his court the effeminate king was at the command of his Italian tailor.\* In short, the most good-natured, affable, and popular man of the day, had, for his selfish purposes, shed more blood than any prince in Christendom ; and this lay heavy at his heart during his last sad hours.

To these contradictions in the character, so like in many respects to his grandson, Henry VIII., allusion is made, to account for the fact of his winning the affections of Morton, whom he converted from a political opponent into a personal friend. The affabilities of royalty have a surprising influence upon those by whom it is approached.

Throughout his last illness, Edward was surrounded by his family, and was attended by the Bishop of Ely.

\* The name of this tailor, the Stultz or Nugee of his day, was Guillini Pault. He received for his pay a shilling a day ; and five pounds a year for his horse.



On the 9th of April, 1483, they were all standing round the sick man's bed, waiting to receive his last instructions. They watched him in silence. The sick man turned on his right side. His eye was fixed upon the objects of his affection. A sigh was heard, and the reign of Edward IV. had come to a conclusion.\*

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Almost immediately the corpse was stripped. It was only on the preceding Christmas-day, that, after due consultation with Guillini Pault, the king had appeared in the most fantastic attire, arranged to conceal his increasing corpulence, and to display the personal advantages he still possessed; and now, as the lords spiritual and temporal, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were summoned to have ocular proof that the king was dead, and that he had not come to his death by foul means—the original object of lying in state—they looked on a naked corpse.

The obsequies were conducted on a scale of great magnificence, and of the proceedings we have a detailed account.† But they differ little from the forms still observed at royal funerals, and we need only mention that the arrangements chiefly devolved upon the Bishop of Ely, assisted by the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Russell.‡

\* See Continuation of Croyland Chron.; Hall's Chronicle; Habington; Sir Thomas More; Philip de Commynes; Fabyan; Sloane MS. in Brit. Museum, No. 3,419, printed in the *Archæologia*.

† A full account of the obsequies of Edward IV. may be seen in MS. i. 7, f. 7, in the College of Arms, and is published by Mr. Gairdner. See also the manuscript journals of Roger Machado in Herald's College, Arundel MS. 51. Letters and papers of Richard III. and Henry VII. i. 17.

‡ John Russell was born in the parish of St. Peter, in the suburbs of Winchester. He was a Wykehamist, and passed from Winchester to New College. He was admitted to New College in

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Bishop Morton was appointed one of his executors in the late king's will ; but, in the uncertain state of public affairs, he refused to act. A copy of the will is to be found in the "*Excerpta Historica*." It was drawn up by Edward in the vigour of his life, and proves him to have been a good man of business.

1449. Of Oxford he became chancellor when that office had ceased to be an annual office, and had become a permanent appointment. He was collated to a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral on the 9th of July, 1474 ; and on the 28th of February, 1468, he became Archdeacon of Berks. In February, 1470, he was one of the ambassadors sent to invest the Duke of Burgundy with the Order of the Garter, and delivered the address. This was printed, and is connected with the earliest history of English typography ; for, although the address was printed at Bruges or Rouen, the printer was none other than Caxton himself. Although the address consists only of five leaves, yet it was purchased by the late Lord Spencer for one hundred and twenty guineas. In 1472 he was again at the Duke of Burgundy's court to conclude a treaty of peace between him and Edward IV. He is, in this commission, styled Secondary of the Privy Seal, to the keepership of which he probably succeeded in 1474, though he is not mentioned with the title till the following year. He retained the office till he was appointed chancellor in 1483. On the 22d of September, 1476, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester ; and was appointed by Edward IV. tutor to the infant Prince of Wales. He was translated to Lincoln on the 9th of September, 1480, and was one of the executors of Edward's will. There is a mystery about Bishop Russell's conduct in the reign of Edward V. and Richard III. There can be but little doubt that he was in correspondence with the Earl of Richmond, although he continued in office under Richard III., and it is certain that Richmond, who had trusted him at first, required him, in 1485, to deliver up the great seal. During the remainder of his life, after the accession of Henry VII., he remained in retirement, bearing the character, according to Sir Thomas More, of a wise, good, and learned man. He almost rebuilt Buckden Palace. He died at his manor of Nettlesham, December 30, 1494, and was buried at Lincoln. Fuller ; Foss ; Contin. Croyland ; Hardy ; Le Neve ; Stubbs.

We are now entering upon a portion of Morton's history, which renders it expedient to take into consideration the several parties into which the country was split.

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There was the party of the Duke of Gloucester, who naturally felt, that the right to be the Protector or Regent devolved upon him. There was the great party which consisted of the middle class, now rising into importance, which, even in the midst of the civil war, had taken very little interest in the dynastic controversy; but which was determined to maintain the cause of order, and was prepared to support any government which proved itself to be sufficiently strong to accomplish this object. A commercial aristocracy had, in fact, arisen; and its power was felt and courted, rather than acknowledged. Mediævalism was passing away. Spiritual lords were no longer soldiers; spiritual censures were less feared than formerly. The ecclesiastics were, with a few exceptions, beginning to take that subordinate position in the State, which they were made to occupy in the next reign but one. So far from men supposing that honour could only be won by feats of arms; knighthood, which a few centuries before was the object of every rising man's ambition, was now avoided, as a burden to which men were compelled to submit that the king might profit by the fee. Both the great parties now struggling for power, but particularly that of Richard, under his own wise direction, courted the mayor and aldermen of London, who represented the monied interest throughout the country.

For much in this portion of our history which would be otherwise inexplicable we can account, if we bear these undeniable facts in mind. We sympathise with

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those who desire to speak as favourably as possible of historical characters ; and although the advocates of the cause of Richard III. have been hurried into extreme absurdities, still some historical points they have fairly established. We may believe that the Duke of Gloucester, when he commenced his journey to the south, intended to act loyally and honourably towards his nephew. But as he advanced, he found that the queen's party had been plotting against him, and that by them he would be annihilated, if by him their own annihilation were not first effected. In the suppression of that party the Duke of Gloucester was assisted, from various motives, by Buckingham, Stanley, Howard, and Hastings. But although Stanley and Hastings were willing to destroy the queen's party, they were not prepared to succumb to Gloucester. They would not make Richard a regent ; they would only permit him to be the president of a Council of Regency, the *primus inter pares*. They miscalculated their strength ; and seemed to suppose that this would meet the wishes of the people.

As to Richard, we may fairly set aside the notion of his intrigues with the citizens of London ; and on the other hand, we must do justice to his sagacity in perceiving what was the prevailing desire, not among the merchants only, but among the old aristocracy, and among the majority of the spiritual lords. They all desired a strong government. From the time of Henry IV. it had become a cant phrase, that we must be governed, not by a child or childish counsellors, but by a man. All, in fact, who desired the preservation of peace were prepared to rally round Richard, and to support him in any measures he might adopt to effect that purpose. Richard now matured his plans. If his

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opponents would have permitted him to retain the regal power in his hands under the name of Protector, he would at first have been satisfied. But after a short trial, he foresaw, that by the queen's party the Protector would be always thwarted and opposed; he therefore determined to place himself upon the throne. We must not forget that he did this with the concurrence of the three estates in parliament, and amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the people; whose enthusiasm was expressed during the progress, which he afterwards made through the most populous parts of the kingdom—a progress which resembled a triumphant procession.

Having made up his mind as to the course he would pursue, he had now two things to do. The Hastings party desired to be regarded as the representatives of the young king, and this party must be dealt with in the same manner as the party of the queen. The next thing was, to surround himself with a military force, and this was cleverly done by introducing gradually into the city a large body of men, wearing the livery either of the Duke of Gloucester or of the Duke of Buckingham, under the plea of preserving the peace at the approaching coronation. They amounted to twenty thousand;\* an armed force to which the Londoners would not have submitted, unless they had been fully convinced that there was danger of a disturbance; and unless, also, they possessed entire confidence in Richard. The other party, headed by Stanley and Hastings, did not take alarm, regarding the precautions as designed only to overawe the queen's faction. At the same time, to this party, notwithstanding their treatment of her family, the queen was compelled

\* See Simon Stallworth's Letter. *Excerpta Historica*, 17.

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to look for help, and with them was disposed to make common cause. Through her they had already obtained an influence over the young king's mind. They imagined that, as soon as Edward was crowned, the Protector's authority would cease; that new arrangements would be made, and that they should compel Richard to submit to their terms. Richard knew all this, and determined that crowned his nephew should never be.

Such was the state of affairs when Richard was prepared for a *coup d'état*, not very different in character from those sudden revolutions, with which we have been familiarized in modern French history. The destruction of Hastings, though the personal friend of Richard, was decided upon. As regards Morton, he had, during some years, led a comparatively private life, and, although he attended the Privy Council, had not made himself obnoxious. He lived at his house in Holborn, and was on friendly terms with the Protector; but one thing was quite certain—that he would not sanction any measures in the Council which might tend to the injury of his royal pupil, the son of his benefactor, king, and friend. Therefore he, with some other members of the Council, under the influence of similar feelings, must be got out of the way.

What is called "the strawberry scene" in Shakespeare is so well known, that an author naturally shrinks from repeating a tale so inimitably told. We have the story indeed from the highest authority—from Morton himself, who narrated it to Sir Thomas More, if he did not himself pen the narrative.

On Friday, the 13th of June, 1483, the Bishop of Ely having attended the service at his chapel, had taken his usual stroll through his garden in Holborn, and then repaired to the Council Chamber in the



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Tower, expecting to transact the ordinary routine of business. Men rose early in those days, and the councillors were surprised to hear the clock strike nine before their chairman, the Protector, had arrived. When he appeared and took his seat at the table, he was apparently in high good-humour, and in the best possible spirits. He apologized for keeping the Council waiting, and hoped the lords would pardon him for having played the sluggard. He was a thorough politician, and no one could read in his countenance what was passing in his mind; not a word or gesture of uneasiness escaped him. He began to jest with the Bishop of Ely about his garden and his bed of strawberries, of which the bishop was not a little proud.

“My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,  
I saw good strawberries in your garden there,  
I do beseech you send for some of them.” \*

My lord bishop, not a little pleased at the compliment paid to his skill in horticulture, immediately despatched a servant for the fruit: and the Protector soon after requested permission to retire, but begged the lords, during his absence, to continue their deliberations.

In about an hour he returned. He took his place at the head of the Council board. All were silent. Something had evidently occurred, and something of an unpleasant nature. The councillors looked for an explanation to their president. He sat with his brows knit, biting his lips, and endeavouring by his countenance to show that his inmost soul was convulsed by passion. He suddenly started up. He demanded

\* King Richard III., Act iii. Sc. 4.

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what punishment was due to those who had compassed the death of one like himself, closely allied to the king, and entrusted with the functions of the Government. The lords were confounded by the manner rather than by the words of this address. Hastings was the first to speak : "Surely, my lord, whoever they be, they deserve to be punished as traitors." "Those traitors are," exclaimed Richard, "my brother's wife, and his mistress Jane Shore ; see how by their sorcery and witchcraft they have miserably destroyed my body." "And therewith," writes Sir Thomas More, on the authority, if not at the dictation, of Morton, "he plucked up his doublet sleeve to the elbow, upon his left arm, when he showed a werish, withered arm, and small." \* "Certainly, my lord," replied Hastings, "if they have indeed done any such thing they deserve to be both severely punished." "And do you answer me," rejoined the protector in a voice of thunder, "with *ifs* and *ands*? I tell thee, traitor, they have done it, and thou in this villany hast joined with them. Yea, by holy Paul I swear, that dine I will not until thy head

\* More's Richard III. 70, 73. More's Life of Edward V. in Kennet, 494. It would seem that this deformity, whatever it was, Richard was careful to conceal ; but that, notwithstanding this, there are some persons who would now represent Richard as a man as free from bodily defects as they suppose him to be from moral depravity. Why persons should have invented the story of his deformity it is not easy to say ; though they may have exaggerated its extent. It is alluded to here as a thing generally known. The whole story is so extraordinary, so objectless as far as we can see, that we should be inclined to accept it on less authority than that on which it rests. Why Richard should have taken this mode of denouncing the queen and Hastings it is not easy to understand. He knew what was likely to take in the age in which he lived, though that age had changed more than he was aware.

be brought to me." With his clenched hand he struck the table; and, responsive to the signal, ere the councillors could look up, the guard had rushed into the room with shouts of "Treason, Treason!" All was confusion. No one knew whether or not his neighbour's dagger would be at his throat. Seats and tables were overturned. One man was seen falling over another, as all were rushing towards the guarded doors and windows. Lord Stanley in the *mêlée* received a blow from a pole-axe, and the blood was streaming down his ears. Meantime Hastings had been hurried off to execution. The Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and certain other lords, were told that they were prisoners.

The imprisonment of Morton caused a sensation, not so much among politicians, as among men of literature and learning. The University of Oxford presented a petition in his behalf, written, says Anthony à Wood, in Latin no less eloquent and fitting than circumspect and wary. The university commended the rev. father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of Ely, to the clemency of the most Christian king, Richard III., as being not only one of the most eminent sons of the university, but also as a liberal patron, and as one who had been to them all an indulgent father. They would not for a moment have pleaded in his cause if his safety endangered the interests of the king, but they had convinced themselves that his errors did not arise from malice prepense and aforethought, but merely from oversight and human frailty. The bowels of the university were moved in pity at the lamentable distress of her dearest son; she was even as Rachel weeping over her children; they therefore pray the king, with much rhetoric, to perform an act of clemency

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which would be acceptable to the whole Church, and redound to his own honour.\*

Richard had always professed his readiness to serve the university, and had been particularly gratified by the reception which the university gave him when he visited Oxford after his coronation. He therefore acceded to its request, so far as to remove Morton from the Tower, and to consign him to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, at Brecknock, in Wales. With the exception that precautions were adopted to prevent his escape, such a prisoner, as we shall frequently see hereafter, was treated as a guest; dining at the table of the lord of the castle, and partaking of all the amusements which were allowable within the walls. Morton soon became intimate with Buckingham, and over the mind of that wrong-headed prince he acquired an influence. Buckingham, though vain and ambitious, appears to have been one of those weak persons whom a man of power can lead like a child; if only, while leading, he has the tact to appear as the party led. Buckingham was the creature of Richard so long as he was the associate of the king; and when he was associated with Morton, he became the humble servant of the Bishop of Ely. He was not led by his ambition to aspire to the throne. Although he had some pretensions to place himself at the head of the Lancastrians, he desired rather to occupy the place of the great Earl of Warwick—to be the person to whom both parties should look—to become a king-maker†.

\* Wood.—Annals, i. 640.

† This suspicion is confirmed by a passage which John Rous has to this effect:—That, after imprisoning King Edward, Richard bestowed all his property on Henry, duke of Buckingham; and that Buckingham, then distributing his livery of Stafford knots,

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But, after making all allowance for the weakness of Buckingham's character, there is only one way of accounting for the sudden and astonishing change in his relations to King Richard. Whether Richard murdered his nephews or not, it was the universal opinion that he was guilty of the crime; and when he was accused of it, he might, by exhibiting the young princes on some state occasion, have disarmed his opponents and have satisfied the public mind. If—as without the shadow of authority, some persons contend—the young princes escaped from the Tower, an assertion of that fact, and their simultaneous production, would have been so clearly the policy of the discontented Yorkists, that their non-production is a proof of their being unproducible. But, as I have said, this is a subject for the general historian. It is sufficient for us to know that Richard was accused of the crime, and that, in consequence, a violent reaction took place, in which he was dashed down from his short-lived popularity, and became an object of loathing to a large portion of the people.

It was a political mistake as well as a crime: and yet it was such a mistake as, according to the mediæval principles then passing away, Richard was not unlikely to commit. A man, conquered on the field of battle, had forfeited his life; if his victor spared it, it was to obtain a ransom; if the prisoner were unable or unwilling to purchase his freedom, his captor might put him to death in prison. Whether the captive were slaughtered on the field of battle or in prison was a thing indifferent. During the Wars of the Roses, any

boasted that he had as many of them as Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, once had of Ragged Staves. See Preface to Grants of Edw. V. xxiv. by J. G. Nichols.

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captive might be treated in this manner. The captor might put his prisoner to death in prison, as he would have done in the field, if, by sparing the prisoner's life, the peace of the captor would be endangered. The death of Richard's father, under Queen Margaret, was lamented by many; but the queen, though showing a vindictive disposition, was not blamed for having, through that act of terrible vengeance, violated the law. The death of King Henry VI. did not cause the sensation among his contemporaries similar to that which it excites in the mind of a modern reader. It was rather the impiety, which doomed to death an anointed king which startled the minds of the religious, than the doom to death of one whose life, being a captive, depended on the will of him whose prisoner he was.

Richard knew that the peace of the country would never be secured so long as such powerful pretenders to the crown he wore, as these poor young princes could not fail to be, were still in existence. For the peace of society he would justify to his own mind what he would regard as a sacrifice for the good of the country. When the heart is hardened, the spiritual vision is obfuscated.

But he had not observed the signs of the times, nor had he perceived how the spirit of the age was changed. Christianity, even in its corruption, had been silently doing its work. War was no longer regarded as the only honourable employment, and the hearts of men were softened. The women, also, were taking a position in society, if less ostentatious than in former times, yet more influential. Under these circumstances the death of the princes was regarded as a crime; and a crime, too, which harrowed every mother's heart. The



heart of the nation supplied it with logic to see that the position of the young princes was essentially different from that of ordinary captives. It was admitted, by the ruling majority, that the exigencies of the times required that their claims to the throne should be set aside; a man, not a child, was to reign. It was admitted, that they should remain in the custody of the king, lest political adventurers should obtain possession of their persons, and disturb the peace of the kingdom. The reception which Richard met with, throughout his progress through the country, declared that he reigned by the will of the nation. There had been no disturbance when the captive lords, relatives to the queen, were executed. The protector, or king, only did what was lawful, and he was to decide upon the necessity of the case. But Edward V. and the Duke of York were not captives taken on the field of battle; if they were imprisoned it was not by law, but by a breach of the law. They might be deposed, on account of their incapacity to govern, but by no acknowledged principle of the time had their lives been forfeited. They had not even resisted the will of the nation when the nation, for the national good, had willed their deposition; and for the safety of his nephews the uncle was held responsible. When it was reported that by Richard, or by his orders, the royal children had been "done to death;" their death was regarded as an act of murder on the part of him who was pledged by every law, sacred and national, to protect them. When once a political principle becomes a sentiment it is irresistible. The opponents of the Government were not likely to overlook the trump card which Richard had placed in their hands. They dwelt upon the innocence of the murdered children; on the

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mother's agony, as suffering after suffering, like successive waves of an overwhelming ocean of affliction, came down upon her; they represented their uncle as a monster of inhumanity; they sang the ballad of "The Babes in the Wood."

Whether Buckingham sympathised in this prevalent sentiment or not, he was the kind of man upon whom, when separated from Richard, the reactionary feeling was sure to have its influence. Such was the state of things as regarded the public, when the Duke of Buckingham arrived at Brecknock, and entered into discussions with the Bishop of Ely upon the future prospects of the country.

It was now that Morton began to exhibit those powers as a statesman, by the exercise of which he has established an historical fame and character. We have seen him respectable as a lawyer, loyal as a subject, an amiable man, a man of literature and an encourager of learning, a constant friend, a prelate who piously observed what his Church enjoined. He grasped preferments rather for the sake of lucre, than from ambitious motives. His ambition was of that practical character which aims at excellence under given circumstances, — which does not undervalue the advantages, but nevertheless so shrinks from the responsibilities of high station as rather to accept than to seek them.

It is important to ascertain the motives which influenced Buckingham; it is difficult even to discover his objects. When a man's besetting sin is vanity, you can never calculate beforehand what his conduct, under any circumstances, may be. We only know that, when the duke was at Brecknock, he was in a state of secret indignation against Richard. For

this we can, in some measure, account, for he had, on his journey between Worcester and Bridgenorth, met his kinswoman, the Lady Margaret, who had urged him to effect, if possible, a marriage between her son, the Earl of Richmond, and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.\*

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It is to be remarked that the Lady Margaret had, up to this time, acquiesced in the revolution—that she had borne a conspicuous part as a princess of the blood royal in the coronation. But now all was changed, and the change could only be occasioned—unless we suspect her of an hypocrisy foreign to the whole habit of her life—by her believing the report that young Edward and the Duke of York had been murdered. Even if, as some suppose, Buckingham was aware of the murder and had kept it secret; his was precisely the character to have viewed it as a political duty, when under the influence of Richard; and to have been excited to hostility when the public indignation had become universal, and even an enthusiasm. It is supposed that the marriage of her son with the Lady Elizabeth had been already suggested to the Lady Margaret by the Bishop of Ely. But if she had further designs, she did not broach them to the duke. When the duke joined Morton at the castle of Brecknock the bishop was not aware, that the ground had been already prepared, and he proceeded to open his design of a counter-revolution with great caution, and with consummate skill. Morton was a delightful companion, and the duke soon found pleasure in conversing with him. The pleasure was the greater when he found a man like Morton, who was eminent as a scholar, and expe-

\* Continuation of More. Kennet, 504.

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rienced as a statesman, or, at all events, as a lawyer, exhibiting the greatest deference to the duke's superior judgment, and, though leading, yet not showing that he led; often insinuating an opinion, never dogmatizing, permitting the duke to fire the gun which had first been loaded by the bishop. At their first meeting, the duke thought it policy, when conversing with one consigned to his custody—his prisoner in fact—to speak great things of the government of Richard, and to advert to the high expectations of national prosperity which might be entertained when such a prince was on the throne. Morton met the duke by reminding him that his predilections were Lancastrian. "If things," he said, "had gone as I could have wished, King Henry's son had been king and not King Edward. But when, by God's providence, King Edward obtained the throne, I was not so mad as to bring a dead man in competition with a living man; and I became King Edward's faithful chaplain; and glad should I have been for his son to have succeeded him. However, since God has ordained it otherwise, I shall not kick against the pricks, nor labour to set up whom the Almighty has pulled down. As for the late Protector—the king that now is"—here the bishop paused, as if he had committed himself and had already said more than ought to have escaped him, when addressing a friend of King Richard. The duke urged him to proceed, and gave his word of honour that "never any hurt should come of it." He remarked significantly, that more good might come of the bishop's speaking openly than he was aware of. He had intended to consult the bishop, and to be governed by his advice. He had, for this very purpose, asked the king to place

the bishop under his custody ; politely adding that the bishop might regard his present residence as his home. If the duke had not interfered, he hinted, that the bishop might have been consigned to the keeping of those who would not have treated him so kindly, or have acted towards him with the consideration due to his merits and station. Morton thanked the duke for his kindness ; but expressed his unwillingness to talk of princes, since words, the most innocent, might be misconstrued and become fatal to the speaker. "I often think of the fable in *Æsop*. When the lion proclaimed that no horned beast should stay in the wood, on pain of death, one that had a bunch of flesh on the forehead fled away in haste ; the fox meeting him said, 'Whither away so fast ?' The beast answered, 'Troth, I don't know and don't care, provided I am out of the wood, as the proclamation commands all horned beasts to be gone.' 'You fool,' says the fox, 'thou mayest stay ; the lion does not mean thee. That which grows on thy head is not a horn.' 'No,' quoth the beast, 'I know that well enough, but what if he should *call* it a horn, where am I then ?'" The duke laughed heartily, and said, "I warrant you, my lord, neither the lion—no, nor the boar—shall resent anything that is said in this house. It shall go no further, I assure you." "If it were otherwise," rejoined the bishop, "and that which I was about to say, were properly taken, I should be deserving of thanks ; but taken, as I suppose it would be, it might perhaps turn to your prejudice and mine."

The bishop was again silent, and again the duke urged him to speak out. "I clearly see," he said, "that you have some hidden meaning which you keep back from me, out of either fear or shame. To me,

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who am your friend, you may be bold and free ; and I do assure you, on my honour, I shall be as secret in this case as the deaf and dumb to the singer, or the tree to the hunter." The bishop then declaimed against the late protector, now called king, who, by his crimes, had rendered himself a tyrant unfit to govern so noble a realm as England. I dare affirm, he continued, that "if the Turk stood in competition with this bloody tyrant, this killer of infants, the people of England would prefer him to Richard who now sits on the throne." He suggested a restoration of the house of Lancaster ; and, with diplomatic skill, appeared to be at a loss to know who was actually the head of the Lancastrians. He hinted, that if Buckingham was at the head of that house, he should himself lay claim to the crown, or, at all events, that he should support the prince whose claim he recognized, and put an end to all dynastic disputes by marrying him to the Lady Elizabeth. "All civil war," he remarked, "would then cease, domestic discord would sleep, and this noble realm would enjoy the blessing of a universal peace."

The duke was silent. The silence continued long. The bishop was, or affected to be, alarmed. At length Buckingham replied, "Fear nothing, my lord ; I will keep my word with you. To-morrow we will talk more of this matter. Let us now to supper."

The next morning the duke himself introduced the subject. Taking off his hat, and uttering a solemn prayer to Almighty God for the commonwealth of England, he then made a clear breast to the bishop. He stated his hostile feelings towards the late King Edward, who had not noticed him with his favour—who probably despised him. The duke admitted that



he had no friendly feelings towards King Edward's sons, and that up to a certain point he had co-operated with Richard. "By my means," said the duke, not, in his vanity, perceiving that he had been a tool in King Richard's hands, "by my means, as you, my lord, know well, he was made protector of the king and kingdom, and at last advanced to the throne." Buckingham then, in his weakness, admitted that his feelings were alienated from Richard on the ground of that king's refusing him certain grants which he demanded. "He denied my petition," said the duke, "for part of the Earl of Hereford's lands, which his brother had long detained from me. I have borne his ingratitude hitherto with patience; I have concealed my resentment; although I inwardly repented that I had been accessory to his advancement, I carried it outwardly fair; but when I was certainly informed of the murder of the two innocent princes, to which (God be my judge) I never consented, my blood curdled at his treason and barbarity, and, pretending an excuse, I left his court, and came to Brecknock."\* He proceeded to state, that he at first contemplated laying claim to the crown for himself, as the next heir of the house of Lancaster. He heard that this was impracticable from the Lady Margaret; her title and that of her son preceding any title that might be set up by the Duke of Buckingham. He considered whether, as he could not claim the crown by descent, he might not have recourse to the election of the lords and gentry of the realm. This discourse is interesting as showing how difficult men found it to be, at this period,

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\* This self-exculpation shows that the duke was suspected to have been cognizant of the design upon the lives of the young princes.

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to decide upon the question of succession to the crown. The duke concluded that, if both factions were opposed to him—the Yorkists and Lancastrians—his pretensions to the crown would be futile; and he now determined to support the Earl of Richmond, if a marriage could be effected between the earl and the Princess Elizabeth.

This point gained, the duke was inspired by Morton to suggest an immediate communication with the Countess of Richmond; and the bishop was already prepared to act. “Oh! if you begin there, I have an old friend at your service, one Reginald Bray, whom I will summon to attend your grace, to receive your commands, if you think proper so to do.” Bray was immediately sent for to Brecknock. He was an influential member of the household of Margaret; and through his agency secret negotiations were set on foot. The queen dowager entered cordially into the proposal for the marriage of her daughter. The Countess of Richmond accepted the terms of union between the two factions in the marriage of her son; and the scheme confided to the leading Lancastrians met their enthusiastic approbation.

In the meantime, Morton was anxious to escape from Brecknock. He knew the weakness, vanity, and folly of the duke. He might suddenly change his mind, and send Morton to the block; or he might, by his careless conversation, unintentionally betray the secrets of the conspirators.

The bishop asked permission to go to Ely, where he had many friends to support him; but the duke, unwilling to part with him, continually made excuses; promising that if the bishop would wait a few days he should be sent to Ely with a suitable escort.

The patience of Morton was at last exhausted, and escaping in disguise, he fled to the isle of Ely.\* Here he matured his plans, and having obtained a supply of money, he proceeded to the coast, and embarked for Flanders. The aspect of affairs when Morton reached the Continent was anything but favourable to the Lancastrian cause. Intelligence soon arrived of the complete failure of the insurrection, which had been organized under his advice, and of the execution of the Duke of Buckingham on the 2d of November.

“So much for Buckingham.” As regarded Morton himself, he was again attainted in parliament, as he had been in the preceding reign.† The king was at the head of a victorious army; and the dispersion of the Earl of Richmond’s fleet rendered an invasion for the present impossible.

But the Bishop of Ely knew, that a spirit of disaffection pervaded the country, and that an army could be immediately raised in England, if only the earl could be introduced into the country; but for the safety of the Earl of Richmond himself he now began to feel alarm. Morton kept up a correspondence with England; and for that purpose remained in Flanders instead of joining Henry in Brittany. Among his correspondents were some of the privy councillors of Richard—even some who were admitted to the king’s confidence. From them Morton obtained information, that Peter Landois, the minister of the Duke of Brittany, had been bribed to betray the Earl of Richmond into the hands of the King of England. The

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\* “Mutata veste in insulam Eliensem fuga se recepit, unde pecuniis et amicis bene instructus secundo vento in Belgiam navigat.”—Budden, 31.

† Rot. Parl. vi. 250.

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fact was, that Duke Francis himself was in a state of mental imbecility, and the Government was entirely in the hands of the minister. No time was therefore to be lost; and Morton despatched Christopher Urswick, a clergyman in the confidence of the Lady Margaret, to make this plot known to the Earl of Richmond. Henry was, at this time, at Vannes, where he had been joined by Courtenay, bishop of Exeter,\* by the Marquis of Dorset, son of the queen dowager, Sir Edward

\* Peter Courtenay was a younger son of Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powderham. Having pursued his studies at Oxford, he proceeded to the celebrated University of Padua, where he obtained the degree of doctor of canon and civil law. On the 30th of May, 1453, he was instituted to the family living of Moreton Hampstead; and was soon after collated to the Archdeaconry of Exeter, which he exchanged, in 1475, for the canonry and prebend of Charminster and Bere Regis, then annexed to the Church of Sarum, having been appointed to the Archdeaconry of Wilts in 1464. In that year he was appointed secretary to King Edward IV.; on the 11th of October, 1476, he was installed Dean of Windsor. He was appointed also Master of St. Anthony's Free Chapel and Hospital in London. On the 27th of April, 1477, he was promoted to the Deanery of Exeter, with the valuable living of Menheniot in Cornwall. On the 8th of November, 1478, he was consecrated Bishop of Exeter at St. Stephen's, Westminster. This was the first instance, according to Dr. Oliver, in the history of Exeter, "of its dean mounting to its pontifical chair." Courtenay seems to have acted on the same principle as Morton. He assented to the revolution which placed Richard III. upon the throne; but threw himself heartily into the Lancastrian movement, when Richard became the murderer of his benefactor's children. He was, like Morton, obliged to fly the country, and joined Richmond in Brittany. On the death of Waynfleet he was translated by Henry VII. to Winchester in the year 1487, and died on the 22d of September, 1492. The precise spot of his interment is not known, but Oliver says, "it appears certain that he was buried at Winchester, not at Powderham." Oliver, 109; Cassan, i. 314; Fuller.

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Wydville, and other friends of the late king, who had given their adhesion to the Lancastrian cause, on condition of the marriage between Henry and Elizabeth. Morton warned the earl, through his messenger, not to lose a moment, but to fly at once into the kingdom of France, where he had already obtained the permission of Charles VIII., if his life were in danger, to reside. The messenger from Morton did not arrive at Vannes a moment too soon. Measures were successfully adopted by which the Earl of Richmond effected his escape. He met with a reception at the court of Charles VIII. more cordial than he could have expected. Morton, meantime, remained in Flanders, carrying on the negotiations in England, whence he received what was more valuable than encouraging promises, the sinews of war in the shape of large sums of money.\*

Instead of accompanying the Earl of Richmond in his expedition to England, Morton was directed to remain in Flanders, to arrange matters in the event of a defeat. But the news came that, with wonderful celerity, Henry had marched, a conqueror, from the mountains of Wales to the metropolis of the kingdom. The battle of Bosworth had been fought and won on the 22d of August, 1485. On the 28th Henry entered London in triumph,† a crowned, though not yet an

\* In the preceding statements I have followed Polydore Vergil, the Croyland Continuator, More, Grafton, Hall, Holinshed and Budden. There can be no doubt that the substance of the conversation between Morton and Buckingham is correctly given, and that it was given on the authority of Morton. The slight inaccuracies as to historical facts are those likely to occur in the case of one retelling a conversation from memory after the lapse of some time.

† It is curious to observe the consequences of a mere verbal error. Bernard Andre, our sole authority, wrote that Henry was received in London "lætanter." In the copy, used by Speed, the

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anointed king. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm displayed by the Londoners, who regarded the success of Henry as a termination of those dynastic disputes which had so long impeded the progress of civilization. But the news of the victory had scarcely reached the ears of Morton, when intelligence came that the joy of the nation was clouded by the appearance of a mortal disease, an epidemic, to which a large portion of the nation fell victims. Henry entered London on the 28th of August, and on the 21st of September the first case of the sweating sickness was announced; although it can scarcely be doubted that other cases had previously occurred. This extraordinary disease assumed the appearance of an inflammatory rheumatic fever. After a short rigor it prostrated the powers as with a blow; and amidst painful oppression at the stomach, headache, and lethargic stupor, suffused the whole body with a fetid perspiration. The heat which the patient suffered was intolerable, and every refrigerant was sudden death. At its first appearance it was almost always fatal. The physicians were confounded, and not finding the disease described in the works of Galen, regarded it as incurable. The good sense of a despairing people soon, however, discovered a remedy. They took no physic. They abstained from food, taking only a small quantity of mild drink. They applied moderate heat, and then waited the crisis for four-and-twenty hours. They were careful to guard against heat or cold, neither exciting nor checking perspiration. If attacked in the

word was read "latenter." Speed, therefore, writes that the king entered London "covertly" "meaning belike in a horse litter or close chariot." He was followed by Bacon, and he again by modern historians.—Bernard Andre, 35; Gairdner, Pref. xxvi.

daytime they went to bed with their clothes on ; those who sickened in the night did not rise till the morning. They carefully avoided exposing to the air a hand or a foot. The crisis was always over within the space of a day and a night.*

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The epidemic was as extraordinary in its duration as in its nature. It was said to have passed over the country like a flash of lightning. It was come and gone within a few months,† and seems to have nearly left the metropolis before the middle of October ; but not until two lord mayors and six aldermen had perished all within one week. They were feasting at night in perfect health, and in the morning they were dead men. The disease, for the most part, marked for its victims the vigorous and the robust.

The coronation of King Henry was, of course, deferred ; but the metropolis was sufficiently healthy to admit of its taking place on the 20th of October. It was not conducted on the scale of magnificence which was originally intended, for the sweating sickness, after it had left the metropolis, spread without interruption through the whole kingdom ; and many of the nobles were prevented by their fears from leaving home, or, at all events, from bringing their families to London. Of the political considerations, which may also have influenced Henry, we have spoken in the

* I am indebted for an account of the sweating sickness to Hecker's "Epidemics of the Middle Ages." He has carefully brought together and systematized the various statements of Grafton and the other chroniclers. Some of his ways of accounting for this and other diseases are remarkable as coming from a German of the nineteenth century.

† On New-year's day a violent tempest arose from the south-east. It purified the atmosphere and swept away the epidemic, which left not a trace behind.

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life of Bouchier. Henry, however, spared no expense in providing amusements for the Londoners, who were all the more ready to enjoy themselves, when they supposed that from their part of the country the epidemic had disappeared.*

In the parliament which met on the 6th of November, the attainder of Morton was reversed.† The Bishop of Ely was appointed a member of the Privy Council. To all who would swear fealty to Henry VII., excepting those who had been the chief supporters of King Richard, an amnesty was granted; and honours were showered down on all, whether Yorkists or Lancastrians, who had assisted in the counter-revolution which had placed the Earl of Richmond on the throne of England. But Henry was quite aware, that the chief among the aristocracy had been influenced by factious rather than by patriotic motives; and that many of those who had betrayed Richard were quite capable of becoming traitors to the new dynasty. He had the sagacity to perceive who were really his friends, and he had the courage to support them. Throughout his reign, his confidence was given to Morton, Fox, Bray, and Daubeny;‡ and they, having confidence in the king, were prepared both to advise him honestly, and to support him even when he determined on measures which did not at first command their approbation. He was a firm friend, and a firm friend is sure to be surrounded with faithful adherents. But, although Henry took counsel with his friends, his was the master mind of his government; as

* There were several cases after this: and one of the miseries of the disease was, that the having it once was no security against a second attack.

† Rot. Parl. vi. 257.

‡ Sharon Turner, iv. 107.

may be seen in the consistency of his political course from the commencement to the close of his reign. Henry's ministers were not vilipended as favourites, for the people were aware that they did not sway him; but that he governed and employed them.

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On the 6th of March, the Bishop of Ely was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England,* and on the 30th of that month died Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury. The Lord Chancellor was appointed sequestrator of the vacant see; and was thus placed immediately in possession of the temporalities. A *congé d'élire* was addressed to the chapter of Canterbury, who were required to elect and postulate the Bishop of Ely. There was no difficulty in making these arrangements, but the necessary documents could not be completed before the 6th of the following October. Morton received the crosier in great state in the Chapel of Ely House, Holborn, on the 9th of December.† He was enthroned on the 28th of January, 1487, at which time also he received the pall.‡ As a further mark of grace, he was released from the payment of the tenth, recently imposed upon the clergy of the province of Canterbury.§

We will now arrange the history of Morton under three heads, and consider his conduct as an ecclesiastic, as a statesman, and as a man of literature.

* Claus. i. Henry VII. n. 94.

† Fœdera, xii. 302, 312, 323.

‡ Godwin, 131. There is an account of Morton's enthronization in one of the appendices to Leland's Collectanea, but as it differs only in detail from similar ceremonials already described, I have not thought it necessary to do more than allude to the fact.

§ It is stated by Godwin, that Morton, on entering the archiepiscopate, exacted a large sum of money from the clergy, with the view, probably, of reimbursing the king.

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I. Whatever Morton undertook he performed conscientiously, and with no ordinary zeal. He was not a divine, and did not enter into theological controversy. The religion which had come down to him, involved as it was in superstition, was sufficient to meet the requirements of his own nature; but his acute and observant mind perceived at once that, in an age when old truths were questioned, ancient institutions assailed, freedom of thought encouraged, and new ideas introduced, the attempt would be hopeless to maintain the Church in its present position, without a complete reformation among the clergy. He felt that this could only be done by constituting himself an autocrat, and this he did by introducing those Erastian notions, which have ever since had more or less weight and influence in the Church of England. He determined to rule the Church by bringing the power of the Crown to bear upon it. At the same time, he sought to strengthen the hands of the Sovereign by inducing Henry to acquiesce in that new order of things, the system and principle of modern Romanism, which, from the time of Martin V., had, through the shortsightedness or negligence of the bishops, been making its way secretly and silently in all the Churches of Europe. The object of Morton was, to give to the pope despotic authority in things spiritual, and in things temporal to concede the same despotism to the king. The Churches of Europe, the Church of France, as well as the Church of England, had hitherto been national institutions under native bishops, from whom an appeal lay to the pope, regarded as the *primus inter pares*. But the notion was now introduced, that the Churches of Europe,—the Eastern Church being ignored,—formed branches of the one Catholic Church, of

which, in fact, though not in name, the Bishop of Rome was the sole bishop. He was the infallible head, and other bishops acted only as his delegates. The revolution in the State introduced by the Tudors, rendered the revolution under Oliver Cromwell a necessity; and the revolution in the Church, which ensued on the triumph of Rome over the councils, that is, over the whole European Church, necessitated the reformation of the sixteenth century. This was effected by the Tudors themselves, when they found, by experience, that two despotisms could not long exist in one and the same country.

The introduction of this system became the more easy, through the misunderstanding which was beginning to exist, or rather had for some time existed, between the clergy and the laity. The clergy had hitherto united with the laity in resisting the incessant aggressions of the Roman pontiff. It was for the protection of the clergy, quite as much as for the cause of national independence, of which they had hitherto been prominent assertors, that the statutes of provisors and *præmunire*, so soon to be turned against them, had been passed. But now they began to look for foreign aid; and, in too many instances, the leading ecclesiastics were found to make common cause with the Church of Rome, until at last the Church of England was confounded with the Church of Rome, and what could be said of one, was said of both.

The despotic character of Morton's administration may be seen in the fact, that, with the exception of the convocation held in the first year of his translation, no business of importance was, during his primacy, conducted in these assemblies. Before the convocation just mentioned, William Symonds, who had organized

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the insurrection under Lambert Simnel, was cited. He was degraded from the priesthood, and being handed over to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, was by them incarcerated for life.

An order was made that, on the death of a bishop, each of the comprovincial bishops was, within a month after receiving notice of his decease, to say, by himself or by deputy, the *exequies* and ten masses for the soul of his departed brother. The archbishop also addressed a pastoral to the Church, under the usual form of a letter to the Bishop of London. From this it appears that, the clerical dress was thrown off by many of the clergy, who, the archbishop complains, were not distinguishable from the laity by tonsure or by apparel. Ashamed of their profession, they had become dissolute and proud. "Desiring, therefore," says the archbishop, "so far as man is able in the Lord, to apply suitable remedies to such diseases, lest the blood of our subjects, and of such delinquents who indeed more truly incur peril, should at the last judgment be required at our hands, we, of our archiepiscopal and metropolitan authority, with the unanimous consent and assent of our venerable brethren, the bishops our suffragans, and of other prelates and the whole clergy of our said province, in the provincial holy synod assembled, have decreed and ordain, that no priest or clerk in holy orders, beneficed in our province of Canterbury aforesaid, or appointed to any ecclesiastical benefice therein, wear any garment '*nisi clausam à parte anteriori*,' and that this be not entirely open. Also, that no presbyter to whom it is not competent by reason of a degree taken in a university (the sons of lords and persons possessed of some ecclesiastical dignity, or otherwise notably beneficed,

only excepted) wear any hood furred, or without fur, either doubled with silk or simply with a horn or short tail,* or with camlet about the neck, publicly; but let such presbyter, not being a graduate, have a hood with a long tail suitable to his order. Nor let him use a sword, or dagger, or belt gilded or adorned with gold. Let also all and singular, the presbyters and clergy of our said province, walk out with proper crowns and tonsures, shewing the ears plainly, according to the canonical sanctions, which we wish to be put into due execution by the ordinaries of the places, against any presbyters or clergy aforesaid, who presume to offend against the decrees aforesaid, or any of them, after a month from the day of their publication. To this, moreover, by consent of our brethren and the prelates and clergy, we determine that the following be added by provincial statute: that if the canonical sanctions for restraining the presbyters and clergy of this kind from the said abuses be insufficient, all and singular such transgressors and violators of the said canons, who nourish their hair, reject the tonsure, or presume to offend against any particular premised, be admonished a first, second, and third time, and peremptorily by our venerable brethren the bishops, archdeacons, and their subordinates; that within the space of one month after the day of their admonition aforesaid, in a certain place specially appointed by the bishops and their subordinates for such offenders, such beneficed persons shew themselves effectually reformed, under pain of sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, and those not beneficed under pain of suspension from their office. Which penalties against transgressors of this kind, if they either contemptuously refuse to submit to

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* *Liripipium*, cauda caputii.—Du Cange.

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them within the term assigned them, or submitting to them, by no means exhibit any reformation according to admonition, we decree to be thoroughly carried out with all the force of the law until they show repentance."

We see in this pastoral an effect which the declamations of the lollards had produced. With the usual verbiage about the duties of shepherds to their flocks, the archbishop insists on the duty of residence on the part of the clergy. In the case of pluralities he required that residence should be kept in turn in both the benefices; and when dispensations had been obtained, ordinaries were to see that proper curates were appointed. He called upon his suffragans to assist him in carrying these regulations into effect. The pastoral is dated, "at our manor of Lambeth, on the 6th day of March, 1486 old style, 1487 new style, and in the year of our translation the first."*

Archbishop Morton was not a man for half measures. If there were faults to be corrected, and vices to be reprehended among the secular clergy, the delinquencies of the regulars were still more abundant. But the monasteries were large dissenting establishments, which defied the diocesan, and refused to render submission to the canons of the Church of England. We have seen, in other chapters of this work, how enthusiastically they contended for an exempt jurisdiction; and this exemption from episcopal control then extended to the parishes attached to their several establishments. The discipline of a parish served by regulars, was exercised by the lord abbot, and the lord abbot was amenable only to the see of Rome. In much earlier times we have seen the bitter controversies which arose

* Wilkins, Conc. iii. 620.

between the bishops and the abbots, contending for their respective jurisdictions. Under the new Romish system Morton yielded the principle, and applied to the pope for permission, as his legate, to visit the monasteries, and to exercise the authority of a visitor. There being no longer at Rome that jealousy of the metropolitans which had existed before the new system was introduced, the permission was readily granted. The bull was obtained in the year 1489, and it is remarkable for the admissions which it makes. The pope, Innocent VIII., speaks of the religious in the province of Canterbury, as having gradually relaxed their rule of living,—growing weary of pleasant meditation. He affirms, that there were many, who, giving themselves over to a reprobate mind, and having laid aside the fear of God, were leading a life, wanton and dissolute, to the destruction of their own souls, the offence of the Divine Majesty, the dishonour of religion, and, through their bad example, to the scandal of not a few ; it was well known that they were in the utmost need of correction and reformation. He concluded, therefore, that “at the urgent request of the most beloved in Christ, our son Henry VII., we grant you this authority.”

Thus did king and primate permit the statute of *præmunire* to be set aside. Morton acted as Cardinal Wolsey acted soon after. They saw that the Church and the monasteries required reform, and instead of seeking the reformation, through the national institutions, they courted an invasion from without ; and suffered themselves to be constituted delegates of a foreign prince, prelate, or potentate.

The first monastery visited by the archbishop was the abbey of St. Albans. He addressed a letter to the

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abbot, in which he states that he had been credibly informed that the abbey had been notorious for simony, usury, unchastity, and bloodshed. He comes to particulars, and these may best be stated by Morton himself, whose words we translate:—

“You have,” he says, “a certain married woman, by name Elen Germyn, who lately quitted her husband wrongly, and for a considerable time lived in adultery with another man, as a sister and nun of the house or priory of Pray, which is, as you pretend, in your jurisdiction, and have advanced her next to the prioress, notwithstanding that her said husband was then alive, and is still living; and next, that Thomas Sudbury, your fellow-monk, has for a long time publicly, notoriously, and with impunity, proceeded to her, as an adulterer to an adulteress in the house or priory of Pray, and still does so, as do certain others your brethren and fellow-monks, both there and elsewhere, as to a public courtesan, or harlot; who have had continual access with impunity, and yet have. Also, that not only in the house of Pray, but likewise in the nunnery of Sapwell, which, moreover, you contend to be under your jurisdiction, you change the prioresses and presidents according to your will; and whilst you depose good and religious women in either place, you raise such as are bad, and sometimes depraved, to the highest dignity, whereby religion is abandoned, virtue is neglected, and so many expenses incurred, that to meet them the estates of the monastery were in some cases dilapidated, and in other cases absolutely sold.”

The profligacy of the monks, not only in the abbey but also in the various priories in connexion with it, had been such, as to create a scandal in an age not easily scandalized. Therefore it was, that the archbishop had applied for those extraordinary powers of visitation which would extend to the deprivation of the offenders, unless security were given for good conduct for the future. The visitor required, that the Benedictine dis-

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cipline should be, as far as it was possible, resumed in the abbey and in the priories; that all the observances of religion should be restored, and that security should be given that the estates should not be alienated, or pass into other hands without the visitor's permission. He allowed sixty days for effecting the reformation in the cells and priories; and only thirty days with respect to the abbey of St. Albans itself. At the end of that time, either by himself or by a deputation, a visitation would be holden.*

Although it would be unfair to take this as a specimen of the state of the monasteries in general, some of which still continued to answer the high and holy purposes for which they were originally established; yet this account of the condition of a monastery before the Reformation is of more value, when we bear in mind that, among the abbeys of England, St. Albans held a foremost place.

Archbishop Morton now applied to the Government, to render more effectual the measures on which he had determined for the reformation of the secular clergy. He obtained an act of parliament to punish priests for incontinency, by their ordinaries. The clause which announces that the time had arrived when spiritual censures were no longer sufficient to maintain the discipline of the Church, runs thus:—

“For the more sure and likely reformation of priests, clerks, and religious men, culpable, or by their demerits openly reported, of incontinent living in their bodies, contrary to their order; it is enacted, ordained, and established, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that it be lawful to all archbishops and bishops,

* Wilkins, iii. 632.

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and other ordinaries, having episcopal jurisdiction, to punish and chastise such priests, clerks, and religious men, being within the bounds of their jurisdiction, as shall be convicted afore them by examination, and other lawful proof, requisite by the law of the Church, of Advoutry, Fornication, Incest, or any other fleshly incontinency, by committing them to ward and prison, there to abide for such time as shall be thought to their discretions convenient for the quality and quantity of their trespass; and that none of the said archbishops, bishops, or other ordinaries aforesaid, be thereof chargeable of, to, or upon any action of false or wrongful imprisonment; but that they be utterly thereof discharged, in any of the cases aforesaid by virtue of this act.”*

Armed with this authority the archbishop commenced his visitation in great state, his cross being carried before him erect, wherever he went, and being attended by a numerous suite. He visited the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry, Bath and Wells, Winchester, Lincoln, and Exeter in 1490. He visited the dioceses of Rochester, Worcester, and Salisbury twice.† On these occasions he exacted large sums of money from the clergy; and in 1491 he was attended by commissioners appointed by the king, at the head of whom was Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter.‡ They attended

* Statutes at large, ii. 65.

† Parker, 447.

‡ With the name of Richard Fox every reader of English history is familiar. He was born at Ropsley near Grantham, of humble parentage. He received his primary education at Boston school, and afterwards at Winchester. Going to Oxford he became a demy of Magdalen College. Driven from Oxford by the plague, he pursued his studies at Cambridge, of which university he was chancellor in 1500; and was, between the year 1507 and 1518, Master of Pembroke Hall. But previously to his attaining these academic distinctions at Cambridge he had gone to Paris, at which university he took the degree of LL.D. Here, as is related in the text, he became known to Morton, then bishop of Ely, and was employed by him in the service of the Earl of Richmond. He

to enforce a benevolence for the king, on the plea of the French war. When delinquents appeared before

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was employed in negotiating with Charles VIII. for a supply of troops and money to enable the Earl of Richmond to invade England ; and immediately after the battle of Bosworth he was made a Privy Councillor. Preferments now flowed in upon him, and they shall here be given at once. He had, in 1473, obtained the prebend of Bishopston in Salisbury Cathedral, and] he resigned it in 1485, in which year he became Prebendary of South Grantham in Salisbury ; Vicar of Stepney ; Privy Councillor, as has been stated, and Secretary to Henry VII. ; and Prebendary of Brounswodes. On the 8th of April, 1487, he was consecrated at Norwich to the see of Exeter ; in 1492 he was translated to Bath and Wells ; in 1494 to Durham ; in 1501 to Winchester. He was Lord Privy Seal in 1486 ; ambassador to James III., king of Scotland, in 1487. How he found time to act as chancellor at Cambridge in 1500, when the duties were more than honorary, it is difficult to understand. He may have been non-resident when Master of Pembroke. While Bishop of Bath and Wells he was one of the sponsors to Prince Henry, afterwards king Henry VIII. He held also the lucrative office of Master of St. Cross. When he was Bishop of Durham, the whole management of the North and of the Scottish border was committed to him (see *Fœdera*, xii. 554 and 568). Even for the military arrangements of the North of England, Henry VII. relied upon the wisdom of Fox. It is impossible, within the compass of a note, to do more than allude to his various diplomatic employments. He was one of the most active statesmen of the age. It is said that he was offered the archbishopric of Canterbury by Henry VII., which he declined. He established Grammar Schools at Grantham and Taunton. But his noblest foundation was Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He had thought of founding a monastery, but was overpersuaded by Bishop Oldham, who said, "What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for housing monks, whose end and fall we may live to see? No, no ; it is more meet that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as shall do good to the Church and Commonwealth." So Fox founded Corpus Christi College, as opposed to the monastic system,—a college which has always been distinguished as the nursery of men of virtue and learning, among the foremost of whom was the judicious Hooker. Fox was blind

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the archbishop, they were ready enough to effect a compromise by granting a benevolence; which only, however, increased the unpopularity of the archbishop. Morton had learned, in exile, the value of money; and the love of acquisition was a besetting sin, which rendered, however, his munificence in giving, the greater virtue. He grasped by inclination, he distributed on principle. If he served the king by sometimes merging the lord primate with the chancellor, the king likewise assisted to enrich the archbishop. He gave him a commission to impress stone-hewers for the erection or repair of the archiepiscopal buildings in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, which the primate was conducting at his own expense.*

Among the controversies in which the archbishop was involved, was one with the Bishop of London.†

The ecclesiastical courts were frequently in litigation, not only with the king's courts, but also with one another. The Bishop of London claimed, that as

during the last ten years of his life. He was eminent to the last for his charities, and died on the 14th of September, 1528. Fuller, ii. 11; Oliver, 112; Cassan, 261; Wood, Colleges, 382; Surtees' Durham, lxi.

* Hoc anno circumierunt totam quasi provinciam Cantuariæ dominus Johannes Morton, doctor juris civilis, et Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, cum cruce Cantuariæ publice ante eum; dominus etiam Ricardus Fox Episcopus Exoniæ. Pat. 8 Hen. VII. m. 18, in dorso. It was perhaps only thus that he could secure workmen, who were, nevertheless, though compelled to work, paid by the archbishop.

† Richard Hill, B.D. held the Prebend of Beaminster, in the church of Salisbury: in 1486, was Archdeacon of Lewes. In 1488 he was Rector of Fulham. He was consecrated to the see of London, at Lambeth, on the 15th of November, 1489. He died on the 20th of Feb. 1496, and was buried in St. Paul's.—Newcourt; Wharton.

regarded all who died within the diocese of London, the probate of wills concerning personal estates, belonged to this court. The archbishop, on the other hand, contended, that the jurisdiction, as regarded the probate of wills in the case of persons who died leaving property in more dioceses than one, was attached to the Court of Arches. The controversy was one, in which the passions as well as the interests of the lawyers were excited, and some indecent scenes took place in the cathedral itself of St. Paul's. The Bishop of London appealed, but judgment was given in favour of the archbishop.*

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Whether a sentiment of gratitude on the part of Morton, or a desire to gratify the Lancastrian party on the part of the king, first suggested the idea, the idea was entertained of canonizing King Henry VI. A petition to this effect was sent to Rome, the pope being supposed at this time to have the sole power of creating a saint. A commission was directed to the archbishop and the Bishop of Durham, to investigate the royal pretensions to spiritual honour; but it was deemed prudent to let the matter drop. Henry, though one of the most amiable, was always one of the weakest of mankind, and, through a softening of the brain, had become, towards the close of his life, almost, if not quite, an idiot. However willing the papal authorities may have been to do honour to the house of Tudor, and to gratify the archbishop, it was felt, and the petitioners acquiesced in the wisdom of the decision, that to canonize such a person, even

* Newcourt, i. 23. We find the following statement in Fabian, 685:—"This year (1493) was Doctor Draper borne perforce out of Poulys, and so ladde to Lamebyth, for variance that thare was bytwene the bishoppes of Canterbury and London."

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though invested with the royal dignity, would be to throw ridicule upon the whole system of canonization. "Knowing," says Lord Bacon, "that King Henry VI. was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, the pope was afraid it would but diminish that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between Innocents and Saints."*

We may here remark, that among the libels of this age, it was stated that the negotiation for the canonization of Henry VI. failed, on account of the avarice of the first king of the house of Tudor, who demurred to the payment of the fees, which were exorbitantly high. Now it so happens, that the fees only amounted to 1500 ducats, and it also happens, that Henry VII. did actually pay that sum for the canonization of Anselm. That this canonization took place at his request, not at the instigation of Morton, is clear, from the fact that it was only on the petition of royalty, that the pope would accept an application for canonization. The application for the honour of canonization, the principle upon which the pope assumed the sole power of canonization, and the terms adopted, are preserved in Morton's register; probably for the purpose of meeting this libel.†

The negotiation ended in a compromise: the Lancastrian zeal of the king was satisfied by the translation of the remains of Henry VI. from Windsor to Westminster; and the party of the archbishop was gratified by the canonization of one of the most illustrious of

* Bacon, 364. That local worship, however, was paid to King Henry may be seen in Baines' Fabric Rolls of York.

† Wilkins, 636, 640, 641. The reader may be interested in seeing the bill which was sent to the king from the papal courts; it is therefore here abstracted from the register:—"Processerunt hæc omnia expensæ sanctæ in commissione causæ, et formationis

his predecessors. It is indeed remarkable, that Anselm, who was pre-eminent among the divines of the eleventh century, was not regarded as a saint, until the close of the fifteenth century.* The canonization of Anselm

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processus, ac sequuntur infrascripta, omissis expensis commissionis, causæ, et formationis processus, cum de illis haberi non possit veritas aut certitudo.

EXPENSA CANONIZATIONIS IN CURIA.

	Ducs.
Domino nostro papæ in aliquo vel aliquibus auri vel argenti usque ad valores ducatorum centum	c.
Pro cannis quatuor panni rosati ad pedes suos ponendi	xx.
Pro brachiis sex panni albi similiter ponendi	viii.
Pro vino elargiendo secuundum valorem	viii.
Tribus commissariis canonizationis in jocalibus vel pecuniis usque ad ducatas centum nonaginta inter omnes	clxxx.
Pro vino donando eisdem	x.
Pro una propina vitulorum, pullorum, confectionum, et ceræ papæ, et tribus cardinalibus prædictis donandorum	lxx.
Pro parco in medio ecclesia constituendo	c.
Pro pictura scutorum armorum et hastis	xv.
Clericis sancti Petri pro ornando ecclesiam	xii.
Ferariis papæ pro ornando parvum	vii.
Advocato consistoriali pro sermone	lxxx.
Cantoribus capellæ et sacristæ domini nostri papæ in toto	xxiv.
Campanariis S. Petri capellæ et clericis capellæ in toto	iii.
Clericis ceremoniarum	xii.
Notariis, qui fecerunt processum	xx.
Parafrenariis papæ et scobatoribus	iv.
Parafrenariis commissariorum cardinalium	iii.
Diacono et subdiacono in toto	i.
Cubiculariis papæ xx duc. magistris hostiariis octo, in toto	xxviii.
Servientibus armorum octo, custodibus portæ ferreæ iv. in toto . .	xii.
Custodibus primæ portæ ij. custodibus papæ v.	vij.
Procuratori fiscali iv. pro bullis lx. in toto	lxiv.
Solicitatori totius negotii, ac plus vel minus, secundum merita et labores canonizati atque petentium; quamvis hodie, prout in aliis accidit negotiis uberiora salaria petantur, quæ petentium importunitate quandoque licet violeuter, et indebite dantur	l.

* A legendary life of Anselm has been written, with all the unction of a conventual devotee, by a Protestant clergyman: the powerful review of this great man's life, by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his History of England and Normandy, may be favourably contrasted with the sentimentalities of Mr. Church.

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was effected with the unanimous consent of the college of Cardinals ; into which college Morton himself was soon after admitted. It was considered expedient at Rome to conciliate the great minister of the King of England ; and in the year 1493, Archbishop Morton received the cardinal's hat, with the title of St. Anastasia.

II. Zealous as Morton was in the discharge of his metropolitan duties, his zeal was equally remarkable in the exercise of his functions as Lord High Chancellor, and chief adviser of the king. In this capacity we find him employed in 1487. The French ambassadors arrived in England to treat of peace, and after they had delivered their message from the French king, the Lord Chancellor Morton replied, in a speech which is described as both eloquent and politic. He told them, that his Majesty the king, following the example of Our Lord, was always most anxious to promote the cause of peace ; but he added that peace was impossible so long as injuries remained unredressed. Even when having recourse to war, the king's only object was that his people might, without suffering wrong, live in peace. He then insisted on the payment of the tribute which the King of France had agreed to pay to Edward IV. That the French king resisted this demand is certain, but how the two potentates came to terms is not stated.*

* Andrea, 55. I have assigned this to the year 1487, on the authority of Andrea ; but, as he gives Morton the title of cardinal, he wrote evidently from memory, and may have assigned a wrong year to the embassy. In 1491 the French king agreed to pay the tribute, and to pay pensions to certain of the king's ministers—the example of Edward IV. and of Louis XI. being strictly followed, with a similar result. A party in the country, who expected to be enriched by the war, was very indignant at the purchased peace.

This circumstance, which is incidentally mentioned by Andrea, and has been, so far as I know, unnoticed by our historians, is important, as it shows, that it was not a vain pretence, when, in the parliament of 1488, a demand was made for a grant to carry on a French war. Such a proposal had hitherto been popular, but against which there was now, owing to the increase of commercial enterprise and speculation, a large minority. The parliament of 1488 was opened by *the Lord Chancellor*, whose speech in substance, and perhaps from some documents in his possession, has been handed down to us by Bacon.

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It commences thus,—“My lords and masters: The king’s grace, our sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare to you the causes which have moved him to summon this his parliament, which I shall do in few words, craving pardon of his grace and you all, if I perform it not as I would.”

He stated the king’s gratitude to his parliament, for their having established his royalty, and for their having enabled him to triumph over his foes and to reward his friends. Urged by this feeling of gratitude, it was the king’s intention always to communicate with such loving and well approved subjects, in all public affairs, domestic and foreign.

He mentioned the war which the French king had made upon Britany; and stated, that the king of

The great bulk of the citizens or non-combatants were satisfied with it; those who, from factious motives, were opposed to the Government, were vehement in their condemnation of it. Lord Bacon says, that on the 9th of November, 1491, the king wrote to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, “which was courtesy he sometimes used, half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace.”

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England would not decide on the course he would pursue with reference to the belligerents, until he had received "the faithful and politic advices" of his parliament. The king was determined to lay aside all personal predilections for the one side or for the other; and the archbishop having stated the merits of the case, said that the question was, whether the king should enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Bretons against France.

Whoever will take the trouble of reading the speech, which is too long for transcription, will be impressed with the oratorical powers of Morton. He states the case with remarkable clearness and precision.

The archbishop from foreign affairs turns to the home department. He was desired by the king to say that, considering the short time he had reigned, never king had greater cause for the two passions of joy and sorrow; joy, for that Almighty God had enabled him to triumph over his enemies; sorrow, for that he was not yet able to sheathe his sword. The first duty of parliament, therefore, was to quell sedition, and to see that the laws were duly executed. He concludes thus:—

"Wherefore his grace saith, that he seeth, that it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the city; nor the marshal's sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace; but that the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws, against riots, and unlawful assemblies of people, and all combinations and confederacies of them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence; that the peace of the land may, by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force, both in court, country, and private houses, be suppressed. The care hereof, which so

much concerneth yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth instantly call for, his grace commends to your wisdoms. And because it is the king's desire, that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves for you to sit under the shade of them in safety; but also should bear you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty, therefore his grace prays you to take into consideration matters of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of monies, to usury and unlawful exchanges, that they may be (as their natural use is) turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading. And likewise that our people be set on work in Arts and Handicrafts; that the realm may subsist more of itself, that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure, for foreign manufactures, stopped. But you are not to rest here only; but to provide further, that whatsoever merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished, by any overtrading of the foreigner.

"And lastly, because the king is well assured that you would not have him poor, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but, that you will have care, as well to maintain his revenues of customs, and all other natures, as also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the king is a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public; and that what comes from you is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud, and falls back upon the earth again. And you know well how the kingdoms about you grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stirring; and therefore not fit to find the king with an empty purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish that what hath been said, had been better expressed; but that your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless your doings."*

In this speech we see that the reign of policy was superseding that of arms. It has been remarked, that

* Parl. Hen. VII. 419.

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Morton was the first to deviate from the ancient form of introducing a parliamentary speech with a text of scripture. But this is not strictly true, as William of Wykeham, when chancellor, made a similar omission.

In his speech, at the opening of parliament in 1496, when the king was present, Morton, instead of referring to scripture, took for his exordium, a certain well-known story of the Romans. He remarks that the Romans were long troubled by Hannibal and his confederates, and would have been almost annihilated after the battle of Cannæ, if they had not listened to the counsel of wise men, and had sent Scipio with an army to Carthage. This speech abounds with classical allusions to Curtius, Scævola, Regulus, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, and may serve to show the interest which the archbishop took in the revival of learning; though he was not prepared, as some were, to elevate the classic heroes above the saints of the Church. He referred to these examples to establish a truism, that one ought to die for his country, which he further established by a reference to Thomas Aquinas and other theologians. From these quotations and references, we may suspect the archbishop of being something of a pedant.

Having shown off his learning, he came to the point. A powerful invasion, under the King of Scots, had alarmed the nation of England; and to supply the king with the sinews of war, the parliament had been summoned.*

It would appear that the members of parliament left their homes unwillingly; whereas it was the policy of Henry VII. to allure the nobles from their ancestral castles, where their ancestors had reigned as

* Rot. Parl. vi. 509.

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kings, and to convert them into courtiers. The nobles would no longer attend, as formerly, like military men at the head, each of his respective regiment; they were no longer to come with their armed retainers; it was against the law for them to distribute liveries. And when they had come, they found the king more ready to listen to the commercial men, than to that House of Lords which had hitherto regarded the House of Commons as a mere appendage to parliament, useful to resist taxation, but seldom to be consulted except on great emergencies. The younger members of the aristocratic families were, however, allured to the metropolis by the magnificence of the king's court. Penurious as he was and avaricious, yet he was never niggardly in expending money when an object was to be obtained; and the court of Henry was as expensive, in point of its ceremonials, as that of Edward IV.* Only, what was joviality under Edward, became stiff form and ceremony, under Henry.

In the court ceremonials, Morton had to bear his part; and especially in the great event of knighting the king's son, Prince Henry, and his creation as Duke of York; an event which took place under circumstances of unparalleled magnificence at Westminster, on the 28th of October, 1494, the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude.

Of this ceremonial we possess a detailed and interesting account, written by a contemporary; from the perusal of which we come to the conclusion that Henry VII. was one of those many penurious persons, who, when once they have been persuaded to unloose their purse

* Mr. Hallam describes the reign of Edward IV. as "a reign of terror." From one point of view it was such; but the chroniclers represent it as a reign of social progress and commercial prosperity.

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strings, are reckless of expense. The king and queen came privately from Sheen to Westminster, on the 27th of October. On the day following, the three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, and the commons waited on Prince Henry at the palace of Eltham, and escorted him to London; where he was received with the usual forms by the mayor and aldermen. It is not my business to describe the waterings and washings, the beds and baths, the mantles, the girths, the surcoats and the corps, the prayers, processions, shrivings and oblations, so minutely related in the document to which I have referred, as relating to the prince and the other candidates for knighthood. The presence of the archbishop was not required till the Saturday, "Allhallows Day," the young prince having been knighted the day preceding. The archbishop, on All Saints Day, waited on the king, immediately after he had heard matins in his private chamber. Then the king "did on his robes of estate royal," the Archbishop of Canterbury, according to custom, placing the crown upon his head. Himself arrayed in *pontificalibus*, the archbishop attended the king to the parliament chamber. The king stood beneath a canopy of state, the archbishop and other prelates standing on one side of him; the lords temporal on the other side, the barons, the judges, and the officers of state, with the knights and their squires; the Mayor of London and his aldermen, all in their splendid robes of office. A procession was then formed by Garter King-at-Arms, who, advancing towards the king, read the patent by which Prince Henry was created Duke of York. The earls of Arundel, of Derby, and of Shrewsbury, whose representatives we still have among us, each presiding over a district,

introduced the duke, with his coronet on his head, and his verge of gold in his hand. Then the prince was invested with his dukedom, and the king granted him a pension, in addition, of a thousand a year.

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Wearing his crown, the king walked to the choir of his chapel, where the procession to the abbey was arranged. Some delay was occasioned by a dispute about precedence between certain noble lords, during which the archbishop and the bishops went to the abbey, there to await the king's arrival. All the bishops were *in pontificalibus*, except the Archbishop of York, who was present as a private spectator, or as a lord spiritual not taking part in the religious service.

The service was performed, and the mass sung by the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by other prelates. His crosier was borne on this, as on all great occasions, by the Bishop of Rochester. Our informant is enthusiastic in his description of the procession, and declares it to have been the most perfect that he had ever seen.

At the conclusion of the service, the king took off his robes, washed, and sat down to dinner. The Archbishop of Canterbury sat on his right hand, and no one else was admitted to the royal table. All the great lords of the realm waited upon the king; and the young prince "served of the towel." The titles of the new Duke of York were proclaimed, and the officers of arms gave the king thanks for his largess. All parties were well pleased; never was there a greater success, than that which attended the rejoicings of this day.

On the 9th of November the royal jousts were commenced in the palace of Westminster. They lasted for three days, and, says the eye witness whom we have quoted, "as hit was prepared andournyshed,

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it was the most tryhumphant place that ever I sayw.”* The name of the “most reverend Fader in God, the Cardinal of Canterbury,” appears as one of the prelates who were invited to the jousts, with the estates, lords, bannerets, and knights.

In the business of the country, Morton was the king's chief adviser. He is, consequently, entitled to some share of the praise which is due to a king, to whose merits as a legislator full justice has not been generally rendered, although they have been fully and fairly stated by Sharon Turner. The difficulties of the government were very great, and demanded a tact and management which required much self-restraint and a sound judgment. A new era had, in fact, commenced, and we may date the beginning of modern history from the reign of Henry VII. He had to adapt himself if not, as yet, to altered circumstances, yet to a revolution which had already taken place in the minds of men. He saw the middle classes wealthy, well informed, determined to maintain the rights of property and freedom of speech; he saw them opposed to those feudal privileges which the aristocracy were determined to assert. He determined to adopt what is always unpopular—the *via media*. He would depress the aristocracy without annihilating the peerage; he would elevate the middle classes without encouraging those socialistic and democratical principles, which had characterized the teachings and proceedings of the lollards. He would punish delinquent ecclesiastics, but uphold the Church as he found it; he was resolute to assert the majesty of the law, and to rule by law instead of the sword. He was

* MS. Cott. Julius, xii. f. 91. It is printed in the appendix to Gardiner's *Letters of Richard III. and Henry VII.*

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thus unpopular with the leaders of both the great factions. He called himself a Lancastrian, and made manifest his inclinations in that direction, when he could do so with safety; but the Lancastrians were quite aware, that they were to expect from him justice rather than favour.* The Yorkists were still numerous, but they only proved their impotence by their futile attempts at insurrection. Henry cared as little for human life as his predecessors, when he thought the sacrifice of it was demanded for the public good: but he was, in himself, a humane man. Henry's campaign against Lincoln, Lovel, and Swart presents a favourable contrast to the preceding campaigns of both Lancastrians and Yorkists. He was firm but not cruel. His merciful policy towards Simnel himself, whose widow he pensioned, is indicative of a new era. Mercy had been chivalrously shewn to knights in times past; it was now seen that mercy was to be extended to all, when questions of policy did not intervene. The execution of Warwick was a legal murder, in our view of the circumstances, but Henry regarded it as a political necessity; yet, even then, he did not order the execution until the unfortunate prince had been induced to transgress the law, and to appear as a rebel.

To secure for himself this power, Henry saw that he must have a full treasury. He could raise an army at any time, if he had money to pay it. He might, at any time, remit an impost when it was violently resisted, since, though ever grasping for more, he was, nevertheless, independent of his people. At that period, a rich king was more powerful than a king at the head of an army, composed as armies then

* We may refer, for example, to his treatment of the Earl of Oxford.

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were; and therefore to amass a fortune was one of Henry's first objects. He was never mean in his expenditure; he was generous in his donations; he would have assisted Columbus in his voyage of discovery, if he had not been anticipated.* He assisted in other voyages of discovery, especially in the maritime expeditions of the Cabots which discovered Newfoundland.†

His servants certainly had no ground of complaint for his non-requital of their valour. Henry's foreign policy was that of peace. He maintained the dignity of the country; he showed himself ready to resent an insult; his reputed wealth, greater perhaps by report than it really was, made it evident that he possessed the sinews of war; but he would make large sacrifices for the sake of peace. He encouraged trade, following the example of Edward IV. and more disinterestedly; for Edward IV. himself became a merchant. Henry, on the other hand, "lent money largely, without any gain or profit," to aid the speculations of traders when likely to be profitable to the public.‡ By his policy he not only united the houses of York and Lancaster, but through the marriage of Margaret with the King of Scots, prepared the way for a union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland.

That in many particular actions, while acting con-

* This is expressly stated by the son of Columbus, in the life of his father. It is here mentioned because a different impression generally prevails. Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to Henry VII. to offer his services to make a voyage round the world, and the king accepted his proposal, "*con allegro volto*," and sent to call him. But before Columbus heard of his success with Henry he had entered into an engagement with Queen Isabella.—Hakluyt's Voyages, i. 507.

† Sharon Turner, iv. 163.

‡ Grafton, 409.

sistently on this policy, he was, through his ministers and agents, guilty of much that is indefensible and sometimes iniquitous, judging him from our standing point, is not to be denied. It were easy, therefore, to make out a case against him ; to represent his prudence as avarice ; and his love of peace as pusillanimity. But to those who take the trouble of reading the extracts from his privy purse expenses, published in the "*Excerpta Historica*," his character will appear in a favourable light. His payments show, that he was merciful, considerate, and kind. He was generous upon principle, causing compensation to be made to numerous individuals who had been accidentally injured in their persons or property ; or who had been wrongly accused or arrested ; and, at the same time, he yielded to the sudden impulses of benevolence. Prisoners were often redeemed out of the Marshalsea, King's Bench, and Newgate. Debts of several criminals, and the costs of funerals, were often paid by his commands, and to the widows of Lord Fitzwalter, and of Perkin Warbeck, he granted an annuity. His schoolmaster, and the son of his nurse, partook of his bounty ; and to the queen he frequently presented money, jewels, frontlets, and other ornaments ; and without a murmur he paid her debts. He was liberal in his patronage of literature and learned men ; he supported many scholars at the university ; he encouraged the printing press. Gratuities were frequently given to astronomers, physicians, and musicians. He laid out large sums on his palaces of Shene, Woodstock, and Langley ; on St. George's Chapel, and his chapel at Westminster Abbey.*

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* *Excerpta Historica*, 86. The assertion that Henry did not treat the queen with kindness was evidently a libel, and modern histo-

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It is observed by Lord Bacon, that in regard to Henry's legislation, "his laws are deep, not vulgar; not made on the spur of a particular occasion, for the present; but acts of providence for the future: to make the estate of his people the *more and more* happy; after the manner of legislators in ancient and historical times."* This eulogy is to a certain extent

rians have found it difficult to adduce any proofs of the fact. There is a very affecting account, by an unknown but contemporary writer, of the manner in which the royal husband and wife endeavoured to console one another on the death of Prince Arthur. See Leland's *Collectanea*, v. 373-4. There was, no doubt, a jealousy on his part to admit his claim to the throne to rest on the right of his wife; and this was natural, as the children of Edward IV. had been declared illegitimate. Henry evidently thought, that he had an hereditary right to the crown, but from policy abstained from doing more than suggesting the fact. He rested on the parliamentary right or the act of settlement. The act by which the Beauforts were legitimated was supposed to bar their succession to the throne. But it has of late been discovered that the clause "*excepta dignitate regali*" did not stand in the original patent of legitimation granted by Richard II. and confirmed by parliament, but was foisted into the charter by Henry IV.—See Gairdner; *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Richard III. and Henry VII.* xxx. It is probable that Henry had reason to suspect the truth, though he had not the means of proving it, for it was known to his cousin, the Duke of Buckingham. The son of Buckingham, who was executed in the reign of Henry VIII., is deposed to have said that he had a certain writing, sealed with the Great Seal, containing a certain act of parliament, by which it was enacted, that the Duke of Somerset, one of the king's noble progenitors, was legitimated; and further, that the duke said to Gilbert that he intended to give the said writing to Henry VII., but the duke said he would not have done so for 10,000*l.*—See *Calendar of the Baga de Secretis*; Third Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Pub. Records, App. ii. 231. Henry had none of the *bonhomme* of Edward IV., and did not court popularity. Being in the *via media*, as is always the case under such circumstances, while he had few friends, he had many enemies, and no partizans.

* Bacon's *Hist. of Henry VII.* 596.

deserved, but it must be remembered that Henry chiefly followed out the policy of Edward IV. He commenced the work, which his profligate expenditure retarded, but he it was who started the policy of elevating the commercial, and of depressing the territorial, aristocracy. Nevertheless, if the reader will read the substance of the laws of Henry VII. as given by Sharon Turner,* he will be agreeably surprised at the advance now made in enlightened and civilized legislation.

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Such was the master to whom Morton tendered a service as faithful and loyal as that which he had displayed in the cause of the unfortunate Henry of Lancaster, and in that of the victorious Edward of York. It is said that, with reference to his conduct as a minister of the crown, historians differ in the opinion they form of his character; some asserting him to have been the author of Henry's oppressive measures,† while others represent him as resisting the king in this respect. That some of the measures to which Henry resorted to fill his treasury were oppressive to a portion of his subjects, is not to be denied; though it may be questioned whether they deserve all the censure which, when they are regarded from our point of view, is heaped upon them by modern writers.

The constitutional principle was now fully recognised, that no direct taxes could be imposed upon the subject except by parliament. But the members of a parliament which imposed a tax, were certain to be unpopular, and parliament was most niggardly in its

* Sharon Turner, iv. 166. Turner does justice to Henry VII. without exaggeration on the one side or the other.

† Foss, v. 66.

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grant of subsidies. Men, however, are frequently inconsistent, and in judging of their conduct in history, we are apt not to take their inconsistency sufficiently into consideration. At this period, men were willing to submit to any methods of indirect taxation, which came within the law. Henry requiring money, determined to make the law a means of obtaining those supplies which parliament withheld, and the minister was sure to be in favour who devised the means of extracting money from the purses of the people without exciting a commotion. Even here Henry acted upon a principle; he determined to spare the poor and compel the rich to pay; and he determined also to impoverish the nobility by a system of exactions, which we should denominate by the vulgar term of pettifogging. In all these transactions, while one part of the community was complaining of his avarice, another class of persons were rejoicing to see their adversaries mulcted, while they themselves were spared.

The monied classes were attacked by the reintroduction of the system of benevolences devised and abused by Edward IV. The system had been condemned by the parliament of Richard, but Henry obtained for it a *quasi* parliamentary sanction. It became an oppression, when the collector came with a demand rather than a petition. The king asked for a free contribution to meet his urgent wants. If the contribution were refused, there were various modes by which the party refusing might be annoyed, and these annoyances would be put in force. In connexion with benevolences, there was a witty saying of Morton in every one's mouth, which, it may be feared, the collectors sometimes converted into a reality. "If," said he, "the persons applied to for a benevolence live

frugally, tell them that their parsimony must have enriched them, and therefore that the king may expect from them a liberal donation; if their method of living, on the contrary, be extravagant, tell them that they can afford to give largely, since the proof of their opulence is evident from their great expenditure." This was a dilemma from which there was no escape. Fuller, with his usual quaintness, describes it as "persuading prodigals to part with their money because they did spend it most, and the covetous, because they could spare it best; so making both extremes meet in one medium to supply the king's necessities." This was called by some Morton's Fork, and by others Morton's Crutch.

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The old aristocracy, were well pleased to see the rich merchants thus forced to pay more than their share to the public expenses; and the poorer classes lauded the king, by whom they were themselves relieved from taxation.

But the laugh was turned, when the wealthy citizens perceived how much more stringently the king dealt with the nobles, than with them. He did not, as his ancestors, appear before their castles, a sturdy beggar, sword in hand; but he put in force against them the whole force of the law, in all its chicanery. Obsolete statutes were brought to bear upon them, the provisions of which had been manifestly violated; and the pecuniary penalties, which were exceedingly severe, were rigidly exacted. In every county, officers were appointed to discover and assert the rights of the crown. Through escheats, attainders, amerciaments, forfeitures, and various processes of legal persecution, the royal treasury was constantly replenished, and a further end was answered: an impoverished aristocracy

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could no longer resist a wealthy sovereign. By the enforcement of pecuniary penalties, he enriched himself, and at the same time he enfeebled a faction. Nor was it without an object, that he, at the same time, allured the nobles to his court, converting the old barons into courtiers, and leading them on to expenses, at the very time when they were least able to encounter them.

The commercial world complained; but when they saw the barons bleeding and deprived of some of their exclusive and oppressive privileges, they submitted. And the barons gave way while they complained, when they saw the application of Morton's Fork to the citizens, who were bidding fair to outvie them in their magnificence. They were compelled to admit, that although all parties had ground of complaint, yet to all equal justice was distributed.

Archbishop Morton brought the power of the church to assist the crown, in thus establishing its authority over the barons. He suggested to Henry to obtain a bull from Rome for the excommunication of the Irish prelates, who had rendered assistance to Lambert Simnel. He also advised the king to apply for a bull to regulate the much abused right of sanctuary. We have noticed complaints on this score on former occasions, and we have seen how determined the clergy were to maintain it, in all its completeness. There seems to have been no murmur, however, on the present occasion: the grievance was obvious and undeniable, and the regulations suggested by Morton were judicious. Innocent VIII. readily granted the bull, by virtue of which, if a sanctuary man committed any fresh trespass he forfeited the security of that place for ever. Protection was extended to persons,

but not to property, so that creditors might seize the goods of a sanctuary man; and if any one took sanctuary for treason, the king might surround the precincts of the church with a guard to prevent his escape.*

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The pope could not be expected to grant his favour or to render his assistance for nothing. The time had gone by for the demand of a subsidy from the clergy of the Church of England to replenish the treasury of the Court of Rome; nor was it to be expected, that those who could hardly be induced to contribute towards the necessary expenses of the home Government, would be forced to tax themselves for a foreign potentate. But the king and the primate offered no opposition, when the pope ventured a speculation on the superstition of the people. John de Gigliis was permitted to act on the part of the pope, and was furnished with a bull conferring upon him powers hitherto unheard of. By this instrument he had authority to sell pardons for usury, simony, theft, murder, rapine, debauchery, and several other crimes,—battery against the clergy, faction against the pope, and some other offences being excepted,—which were reserved for the cognizance of his Holiness.†

Morton shared the unpopularity of his master. As they sided with no party, they were hated by all; and their success is to be attributed to the fact, that party-spirit had subsided in that great middle class which, though Henry did not create it, it was his policy to support and uphold. I suppose that everything that can be said against Morton is to be found in Buck's "History of Richard III.;" for that king he

* *Fœdera*, xii. 541. See also xiii. 104.

† *Regist. Morton. Parker*, 298.

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holds a brief. All however that he can say of Morton is, that he was the instigator and instrument of the extortions and exactions of Henry VII. ; that he acted from the basest and most sordid motives, and was guilty of sorcery, that hellish art. Now we all know how ready men are to assume right motives, as an excuse for their own bad actions, and to attribute the good actions of their opponents to wrong motives.*

Nevertheless, whatever may have been the defects in manner through which Morton failed to obtain what he never sought—popularity ; he was certainly successful in attaching to himself all who were admitted into familiar intercourse with him ; nor is it slight praise to say that he won the affections, as he deserved the gratitude, of so great a man as Sir Thomas More. By Sir Thomas More we are admitted into the household of the cardinal archbishop ; we have a specimen of his conversation, and some insight into his private opinions.

As in the case of other great men, with large establishments, the palace of the cardinal archbishop afforded not only a home to many learned men ; but, through their presence, it became a school to those fortunate young men who were privileged to become members of his family. He kept Christmas with much festivity at his own house, when not in attendance upon the king. Players were employed at this time to amuse the guests and household of the archbishop ; the subject, of course, having reference to some portion of sacred history accompanied with devils, and certain devices to gratify the eye. The mysteries were not yet superseded by the moralities. In these exhibitions great latitude was permitted to the performers, who did not

* See a libel upon Morton, by Dr. John Herd, in Buck, 538.

confine themselves to what was written; a custom which still lingered on the stage when the drama had assumed its present form, as we learn from Hamlet's advice to the actors. A buffoon was always introduced who represented the devil, vinegar being applied to his nose to make him roar,—the allusion being (profane as it sounds to modern ears) to the vinegar and gall at the crucifixion. His tormentor was another buffoon called the Vice, who was fantastically dressed with a kind of harlequin's wand, in the shape of a long dagger, by which, from time to time, he belaboured the Devil. The pantaloon and harlequin of a modern pantomime may give us an idea of the proceedings and objects of these functionaries. The moral was to exhibit the Devil as Vice painted.*

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Among the performers at Lambeth or Knowle, none was so clever and active as young Thomas More. His skill at extemporizing positions and answers, the first displaying humour, and the second wit, secured for him the applause of the spectators, and especially of the archbishop, with whom he soon became a favourite. Often when Thomas was waiting upon him at dinner, the archbishop would point him out to the nobles sitting at the high table, as a remarkable youth, and he would say of him: "Whosoever liveth to trie it, shall see this childe prove a notable and rare man." He sent him at his own expense to Oxford.†

Never did Sir Thomas More forget the kindness he experienced at the hands of the cardinal archbishop;

* An interesting account, and specimen of the mysteries, may be found in Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, ii. 132. See also Warton, i. 240, ii. 367, 374, 379.

† Life of More, in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, printed from a manuscript in the Lambeth Library.

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and he loved to refer, in after life, to the conversations of which he was an auditor before he was old enough to take part in them. The first book of the "Utopia" is an account of a conversation which took place at the Archbishop's table; and though Raphael Hythlodæus is employed to relate a fictitious narrative, he is evidently designed to represent some distinguished outspoken foreigner whom More had met there.*

* The principal characters introduced, besides Michael, are the Archbishop, More himself, and Peter Giles. If More had intended to represent the whole conversation as an invention of his own, he would have given fictitious names to all. The name of the chief speaker is changed because, as More intended to make him the author of the impracticable suggestions of the second part of the Utopia, it would have been hardly fair to have published his real name. The lawyer was probably living at the time when More wrote, and his name is suppressed, since his observations are far from wise. I regard the Utopia as a political satire. The first part is designed to show how much need there was of an entire change in the prevalent modes of thought and the institutions of the age. The second part is intended to expose the impracticability of those proposed reformatations which lollardism had advanced—all founded on communism. Apologies are sometimes produced in favour of toleration, and More is accused of inconsistency from his having become a persecutor. That More was not guilty of the acts of persecution of which he is accused by Foxe, we have his own declaration. He was not, however, on this point, in advance of his age; he could not understand how truth could be maintained, if the wilful promulgation of error was permitted. He no more intended to recommend toleration than he intended to recommend a community of goods. He showed that he was satirizing the lollards by the very title that he gave to his work, Utopia—*οὐτόπος*, nowhere, and to his chief speaker, *δαιμόθλος*, a learner of trifles. That More may have been at one time inclined to socialism, to a community of goods, is probable; for where is the generous spirit who has not been a socialist at one period of his life, from the days of the Apostles, to the present hour? The enthusiasm is quelled by experience of the world; the thing is impossible while human

Sir Thomas More being engaged on public business at Antwerp, was returning one day from attending Divine Service, when he met his friend Peter Ægidius, or Peter Giles, walking with a stranger to whom he gives the name of Raphael Hythlodæus. An introduction took place, and the usual civilities were interchanged. More invited the two friends into his house, and going into his garden, they all three of them sat on a grassy bank, and entered into conversation. Hythlodæus mentioned incidentally his having visited England; on which occasion he formed the acquaintance of John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who was also a cardinal and the Chancellor of England. He was, he said, a man not more to be venerated for his high rank than for his wisdom and virtue. He was a man of middle size, and at the time of Raphael's visit he was in the full vigour of a green old age. Though serious and grave in his deportment, he was nevertheless easy of access; and though his manner was sometimes brusque, when suitors came before him to solicit his favour, he acted with an object,—that object being to ascertain their abilities and presence of mind. Upon those who exhibited readiness of wit without pertness he found pleasure in bestowing his preferments; for in this respect they resembled himself, and he regarded persons so endowed as likely to be useful in public affairs. He was a man full of energy but of polished manners. He was eminent as a lawyer, being a man of great grasp of mind and blessed with a prodigious memory. By study and discipline he had improved the talents with which nature nature remains as it is—corrupt. This is the lesson taught in the Utopia. The edition of More which I use is that printed at Louvain in 1565.

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had thus endowed him. "When I was in England," continued Raphael, that is when More was a young man, "the king depended much upon the archbishop's judgment, and the Government seemed chiefly to be supported by him, for he was a man who had passed from the schools of learning into the courts of princes, and throughout a long life he had been versed in public affairs. Under various mutations of fortune he had dearly purchased for himself an amount of practical wisdom, which once acquired is not easily lost." *

It happened one day, when Hythlodæus was dining with the archbishop, that a lay lawyer was present, who took occasion, in the presence of a foreigner, to enlarge on the merits of that rigid administration of justice which prevailed in England. He had seen, he said, twenty robbers hanging on one gibbet, and had evidently felt no pity for the unhappy culprits,—but he added, notwithstanding all this, still robberies continue to abound. Then Raphael made bold, in the presence of the archbishop, to controvert the lawyer's opinion as to the wisdom of this Draconic system of legislation. He maintained that such severity was neither just in itself nor conducive to the security of the public; and he compared the conduct not only of the English, but of all European governments, with that of certain schoolmasters who flog their boys because they are incapable of teaching them.

He suggested, that instead of punishing those who committed robberies, it would be better to prevent crime by providing them with employment. When it was replied, that there were many handicrafts on the one hand and husbandry on the other, by which they might earn an honest livelihood if they desired it,

* Mori Opera, p. 2.

Raphael prepared to controvert the position. The wars first drew men from their farms or from their trades, and having trained them to idleness and habits of plunder, then suddenly disbanded them, many of them wounded and mutilated, but with arms in their hands : how were they to live except by robbery and wrong doing ? The number was increased by the breaking up of many old establishments—the lords having been ruined by the cruel wars, and their retainers sent forth without a home or any respectable means of livelihood. The lawyer combated the position of Raphael, maintaining that this class of men were necessary, since they were ready at all times to form an army, when an army was required ; they were, in fact, a standing army, maintained not by the State, but by depredations upon the people, under the wholesome terror of being hanged if they did not rob cleverly. But the archbishop, though he did not speak, gave evident signs of agreeing with Raphael, when the latter proceeded to remark that the necessity of stealing arose also from another cause, which was peculiar to England. The former difficulty had been shared by all European nations, especially by France, where indeed things were managed much worse ; for there the idle characters, though still committing ravages, were kept in pay as a standing army—an army which, nevertheless, was always defeated by the superior strength and valour of the raw English troops ; but what he was now prepared to say related especially and emphatically to England. Here the archbishop interposed and said, “ Pray, what may that be ? ”

To understand the answer, we must remind the reader that, in order to meet the demand for wool, not only from the Netherlands, but from our own increas-

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ing manufactures in England, the owners of land had, for some time, been converting their farms into sheep-walks. They found the feeding of sheep more profitable than husbandry. The consequence was, that the peasantry hitherto employed in tillage were turned adrift upon the world without means of subsistence. "Your sheep," said Raphael, "at one time so tame and easily fed, may now be regarded as wild beasts; instead of being food themselves, making food of men, consuming, devouring, destroying fields, houses, and cities. Wherever the wool is longest and finest, there the noblemen and gentlemen, and certain abbots, holy men of God forsooth, not content with the income which satisfied their forefathers, or with the ease and pleasure which they have to enjoy, to the damage rather than the advantage of the public, leave no ground for tillage. All their lands they convert into pasture. They raze the farm-houses to the ground. They depopulate whole villages; nothing is left but the church, and that is often turned into a sheep-house. And, as if you had not lost ground enough by your forests, chases, lands, and parks, these good and holy men turn all dwelling-places, yea, all glebe lands, into desolation and a wilderness.

"Wherefore, that one insatiable gormandiser (*helluo inexplebilis*), the accursed pest of the country, may add field to field, and enclose many thousand acres of land within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen must be thrust out of their own, by force or by fraud; or, wearied by continual annoyances, they must be compelled to sell. By fair means or by foul, the poor wretches are made to emigrate—men, women, husbands, wives, the fatherless and the widow, mothers with their babes, a household numerous since husbandry requires many hands, are in abject poverty.

Their household stuff is sold, if they can find a purchaser ; but the little money thus raised is soon spent, and then what remains for them to do ? They must either steal, and then be hanged,—God knows how justly !—or else they must beg, and then they are cast into prison as vagrants. Willingly they would labour, but no one will hire their services ; since for the labour to which they have been accustomed there is no demand, no arable ground being left. One shepherd or herdsman will be sufficient to tend a flock depastured on a land which, if it were ploughed and reaped, would give employment to many hands.”

He proceeds to show, that this state of things increased the price of corn and also of wool, so that the poor people who were wont to make cloth were unable now to buy it ; and the result was, that the wealthy few—not only noblemen, but farmers and tradesmen—were revelling in soul-destroying luxury, in dress, in diet, in dissipations of every description, in gambling by dice, cards, tables, football, tennis, and quoits.*

He recommended that steps should be immediately taken to rebuild the villages and country towns, to resume agricultural pursuits, and to regulate the manufacture of wool, so as to give the people full employment, a mode of proceeding which would be found far more efficacious for the repression of crime than all the boasted severity of the law.

Whatever may be thought of his notions of political economy, there is something noble in the indignant tone in which he exclaims (uttering opinions in which More and Morton evidently concurred),—if you suffer

“ Jam ganea, lustra, lupanar et aliud lupanar, tabernæ vinariæ, cervisariæ postremo tot improbi ludi, alea, charta, fritillus, peta, sphæra, discus.”—More, 5.

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the people to receive the worst possible education, to be trained from their earliest years in habits of vice; and then when they grow up punish them as men, for the commission of acts to which you have permitted them to become habituated,—what do you do, but first make them thieves, and then condemn them to death for following your instructions?

The remark made a deep impression upon all except the lawyer, who took a professional view of the matter, and began a formal reply. “You have argued,” he began, “well enough for a foreigner ignorant of our ways, but in a few words I will set you right;” when Archbishop Morton, who took up the matter seriously, interrupted him. “Hold your tongue,” he said, “we have not time for this sort of thing, or, at all events, reserve what you have to say to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow,” he politely added, “if that be convenient to you and Raphael.” Then turning to the latter, he said, speaking as one earnestly desiring to consider the subject in its several bearings, “I should like to know on what grounds you think that theft ought not to be punished with death, and what other punishment you would substitute.” He expressed his fear, that since they could not be restrained from thieving by the fear of death, a mitigation of the punishment would only be an invitation to crime.

Hythlodæus suggested the substitution of hard labour instead of death, for which he quoted the example of the Jews, the Romans, and an imaginary community in Persia. He made rather a long-winded speech, as the manner was, for the purpose of showing off his learning. He concluded with saying, that he did not see why some such method might not be adopted in England, with far more advantage than

that severity of justice which the learned lawyer had so much lauded. The lawyer shook his head, and made a grimace, and said it would not do : and the whole party gave evidence of their coinciding with him in opinion, except the archbishop. He, after a pause, remarked that it was not easy to say whether this plan would or would not succeed. At all events, no harm could arise from making the experiment. He added, that he would treat vagrants in the same way, as so many laws had been made to put them down ; but hitherto without effect. It was striking to see the change which immediately took place among the cardinal archbishop's guests. They had looked with contempt upon Hythlodæus while he was speaking, but now they applauded the sentiment, and especially the proposal about vagrants, as being the suggestion of the archbishop himself.

The cardinal archbishop, like other great men, had in his household a jester or fool, whose business it was, with proper discretion, to make fun and amusement for the party. He was present on this occasion. He now and then during the conversation made grimaces, which caused some laughter ; but now, as the party was breaking up, after the judicious remark of the archbishop, he began to open his mouth. Some one remarked that as Raphael had made provision for thieves, and the archbishop for vagabonds, something ought to be done for those of the poor who were disabled for work, through sickness or old age. "O," said the fool, "leave that to me—I will look after them. They are a class of people I so particularly dislike, that however piteously they may beg from me, they cannot abstract the smallest coin. Either I have no inclination to give, or if I have the inclination, then I have

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nothing to give. They all know me so well, that they never think of troubling me, for they are aware that it will be but labour thrown away. What I would do would be, to have a law made, that all the men should be sent to the Benedictines and the women to the nunneries."

The archbishop smiled and took the joke ; but some of the company looked grave, and especially a cross-grained friar, who happened to be present and became so angry, calling the jester a knave, a slanderer, a back-biter, a son of perdition, that the cardinal rebuked him. But the friar was not to be put down. He justified his conduct, on the ground that he was showing his zeal for the cause. "You act thus," said the Archbishop, mildly, "with a good intent, but surely it would be wiser not to engage in a controversy with a fool, by which you expose yourself and your cause to ridicule." "No, my lord," said the friar, "I shall not restrain myself, for Solomon says, Answer a fool according to his folly."

The archbishop then made a sign to the fool to withdraw, and with the tact and good breeding of a man of the world, changed the conversation.

This scene is deeply interesting, and even important. It places Morton before us in a very favourable point of view. It shows that, though cautious, he was not an enemy to progress, that, though strict, he was not morose ; that he desired to obtain information. It also marks a great change in public opinion. A hundred years before, such a conversation could not have taken place. The European mind was now applying itself to the general amelioration of society. As we have before remarked, modern history had commenced.

III. Whether Morton was himself an author, or only

the cause of authorship in others, is a subject upon which it is difficult to give a decided opinion.

Sir John Harrington, writing in 1596, says: "The best, and the best written of all our chronicles, in all men's opinions, is that of Richard the Third, written as I have heard by Morton, but as most suppose by that worthy and uncorrupt magistrate, Sir Thomas More, sometime Lord Chancellor of England." * Buck, also, to whom we have already had occasion to refer, says of Morton that he "wrote a book in latin against King Richard, which came afterward to the hands of Mr. More, sometimes his servant." He adds in the margin, "the book was lately in the hands of Mr. Roper of Eltham, as Sir Thomas Hoby, who saw it, told me." †

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When we come to internal evidence, there occurs a sentence which could not have been written by Sir Thomas More. Detailing the circumstances of the last illness of Edward IV., the writer says that "it continued longer than false and fantastical tales have untruly and falsely surmised, as I myself, who wrote this pamphlet, truly knew." The writer was evidently one of those who stood at the death-bed of King Edward; for, in reporting his last words, he described what would only have occurred to the mind of an eye-witness, a circumstance to which we have incidentally alluded before: "He laid him down on his right side, with his face towards them." At the time of King Edward's death, Sir Thomas More was, if the date of his birth be correctly given, only three years old: at all events, he was merely a child.

* Metamorphosis of Ajax, 46.

† Buck, 546. See Singer's edition of More's *Richard III.* viii. Ellis, Pref. to Grafton, xx. ; Gairdner, Pref. to Henry VII. xviii.

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On the other hand, Rastell, who was the nephew of Sir Thomas More, printed the work in 1557 from a copy in More's handwriting, and he adds that the original was written in 1513. A Latin version of the history of Edward V. was written by the same author. But, in 1863, Mr. Gairdner found a MS. of the Latin history in the Heralds' College, which, though not in More's handwriting, is, in Mr. Gairdner's opinion, the original draft of the work before the final corrections had been made; and this MS. contains the preamble referring to Henry VIII. and the Earl of Surrey. This goes far to prove that, whether Rastell were right or wrong in attributing the work to More, the author was certainly not Archbishop Morton.

There is another solution of the difficulty, which is, in all probability, the right one. More wrote from notes which he had made of conversations he had from time to time with Morton, who freely talked of events of which he could truly say—

“Quorum pars magna fui.

They who have read the life of the great historian of the Peninsular War will be easily able to conjecture how the matter really stood. That work was not written by the Duke of Wellington, who, in writing to Mr. Perceval, asserted that he had never read it. Yet, on many or most of the disputed facts, Sir William Napier could quote the Duke of Wellington as his authority. The duke was always ready to answer questions put to him by the historian; and, at the same time, was not answerable for any of the opinions he propounded, although some may have suggested themselves to the writer's mind after conversations with the duke. How indelibly the very manners of



his illustrious patron were impressed upon More's memory, may be seen from the description of the archbishop, which we have in the first book of the "Utopia." More's history of Edward V. and Richard III. is invaluable, as a contemporary record of passing events; giving us the impression of a party-man, no doubt, but of a man by no means the unscrupulous partizan that Morton is made to be, in order that they may damage his statements, by the violent vindicators of Richard.

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Of the high esteem in which Morton was regarded in the University of Oxford we have already had an instance, when the university addressed a petition to Richard in favour of the Bishop of Ely. An alteration had taken place, we might almost say, in the constitution of the university, although it was one of those silent revolutions, which are passed over by the general historian, until he has to trace results to their causes. The chancellor of the university had ceased to be what he formerly was, and the office was beginning to assume that character which it still sustains. The chancellor has much business on his hands affecting the university; but his residence is no longer required, and instead of being an officer annually elected, he retains the office for life, or until he tenders his resignation. The first "perpetual chancellor" was Dr. John Russell, bishop of Lincoln; and in the early part of the year 1494, he signified his wish to retire from a post which, as Wood states, he had for many years laudably held. Before the resignation was accepted, a controversy arose between the regents and the non-regents respecting the appointment of his successor. The king, who was at Woodstock, and who was always anxious to avoid disturbances, wrote to the university

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on the 9th of October, desiring that no further steps should be taken with reference to the election of a chancellor, until his pleasure had been signified upon the subject. The university, through its steward Sir Reginald Bray, expressed their readiness to obey the royal commands, and nothing was done until the death of Bishop Russell. No message, however, coming from the king, the university proceeded, according to custom and statute, to an election; and the choice of the "academicians," as Wood styles them, fell upon Cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury. All parties were satisfied, for it was a unanimous election. The election had hardly been completed when letters arrived from the king mentioning two names, and requiring them to elect either Dr. Smith, bishop of Lichfield,\* or Dr.

\* William Smith was the fourth son of Robert Smith, of Peel-house, in Weddens, or Wedness, in the parish of Prescot, in the county of Lancaster. Of his early life nothing is known. He found a patron in Margaret, countess of Richmond, and was probably educated in the household of Thomas, the first earl of Derby. He proceeded in due course to Oxford, but at what college he resided it is impossible to say, though Wood supposes him to have been first at Oriel, and then at Lincoln. He graduated in law. He was distinguished as a Latin scholar. On the 20th of September, 1485, he was appointed Clerk of the Hanaper, with a stipend of £40, through the interest of his patron, the Earl of Derby. While in this office he was able to be of service to the University of Oxford, when that university had fallen under the king's displeasure. A few years after he had conferred upon him the Deanery of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and became a privy counsellor. In 1492, the Countess of Richmond gave him the Rectory of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire; he was also appointed one of the feoffees of those manors and estates which were devoted by her to pious uses. He was consecrated probably at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, to the see of Lichfield, on the 3d of Feb. 1493. He resided much on his bishopric, either at Beaudesert or at Pipe. His town residence was on the site of Somerset House. He was

Fitzjames, bishop of Rochester.\* This shows that the archbishop had not aspired to the honour, and makes therefore, the honour, when it was conferred upon him, the greater. The two prelates, as soon as they

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associated in a commission, with Archbishop Morton and others, in the council of Prince Arthur, acting in the Marches of Wales. Of this council he afterwards became president. He rebuilt the hospital of St. John, in Lichfield, in 1495, to which was attached a school, afterwards of considerable importance. He was translated to Lincoln in November, 1495. He was a diligent and active diocesan. Although he was not elected chancellor of Oxford at the period referred to above, he succeeded Morton in the chancellorship in 1500. His name has become immortal by his being the founder of Brasenose College, along with his friend Sir Richard Sutton. He expired at Buckden, 2d Jan. 1514, and was interred in the south side of Lincoln Cathedral.—Churton; Wood, Colleges and Halls; Ang. Sac. i. 325.

\* Richard Fitzjames was of a good family in Somersetshire. About 1459 he went to Oxford, and in 1465 was elected a Probationer Fellow of Merton College. In 1473 he was Proctor. In 1474, he obtained the Prebend of Taunton in Wells Cathedral, and being appointed chaplain to Edward IV. took his degree of D.D. On the 12th of March, 1482, he became Warden of Merton, an office which he retained for a quarter of a century. In 1484, he was made Vicar of Minehead, and Rector of Aller. In 1485, he had a stall in St. Paul's Cathedral, having filled the office of treasurer since September, 1483. In 1495, he was appointed Lord High Almoner to Henry VII. On the 21st of May, 1497, he was consecrated, at Lambeth, to the see of Rochester. In 1503, he was translated to Chichester; and on the 2d of August, 1506, he was translated to London. He preached the funeral sermon of Queen Elizabeth, at York, on the 11th of February, 1503. He built the great court at Fulham; he repaired St. Mary's, Oxford, and with his brother, Sir John, was the co-founder of Burton School. Richard Hyns was hanged by Sturm, the bishop's chancellor. Bishop Fitzjames opposed the coroner's inquest, but was compelled to pay the large sum, if we multiply it by ten, of £1,500, to the murdered man's family. He died on the 15th of January, 1521, and was buried in St. Paul's church.

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were made acquainted with what had happened, immediately withdrew their pretensions, and signified to the king their desire not to interfere with so good a choice.

The chancellor was in London at the time. A deputation waited upon him from the university to administer the oaths; but he observed that he had already taken the very same oaths before receiving his degree, so as to render the ceremony unnecessary. The plea was admitted, and the authorities of the university, therefore, were satisfied with sending him a dispensation, first, from taking the oath, and, secondly, from residing at the university. "Notwithstanding," says Wood, "it was against the customs of the ancients, and scarcely to be proved by example." The university had no occasion to regret the appointment, for in Morton it found a powerful protector and munificent patron.

"For though he was unsatisfied in getting,  
Which was a sin, yet in bestowing  
He was most princely."\*

He contributed largely to the restoration of the Canon Law School, in St. Edward's parish, and to the completion of St. Mary's Church, and to the edification of the Divinity School. In all these places his arms were set up, either in the windows in stained glass, or else they were engraven in stone. They were curiously engraven, at the bottom of the stone pulpit in St. Mary's Church, with a rebus on his name, an *M* on a *tun*. The pedestal, or bottom of the pulpit, was pulled down when the interior of the church was altered, during the vice-chancellorship of Dr. Bathurst, in 1676. They

\* Wood, *Annals*, i. 652.

were also engraven on the respondent's pew, or seat of stone, in the Divinity School, which also were taken away when the interior of that school was altered in 1669.\* He repaired the palace at Canterbury, and the manor-house at Lambeth. He nearly rebuilt the archiepiscopal residences at Maidstone, Addington Park, and Charing. To Wisbeach Church he was so great a benefactor—probably rebuilding the tower—that his arms appear on the tower in five or six different places. The castle having fallen into dilapidation, Morton, while bishop of Ely, erected on its site a tower of brick. The work, however, which conduced most to his fame, was the famous cut, or drain, from Peterborough to Wisbeach, a tract of upwards of twelve miles across a fenny country. This work proved to be of great benefit to his diocese and to the public in general. It was completed at his sole expense, and is still known by the name of Morton's Leame. He greatly promoted, also, the rebuilding of Rochester Bridge. The difficulty in the execution of these works, was not so much to find money as to procure skilled artizans. The press-gangs remained to our own days. Some who are still living well remember, if they resided near the sea-side, the horror of the press-gang which was expressed in the nursery, the servant's hall, and the stable. The press-gang had then reference only to the manning of the navy; in Morton's time, the archbishop obtained a commission from the king, authorizing him to impress stonehewers to labour in the works which he was, at his own expense, carrying on in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.†

The archbishop continued to discharge the various

\* Wood, *Athenæ*, ii. 606.

† Pat. 26, July 8, Hen. VIII. m. 18, in dorso.

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duties of his two great offices with judgment and vigour, until the year 1500. He was then reputed to have reached the great age of ninety; but we have already stated our reasons for thinking that this was an exaggeration.\* He was in good health when a quartan ague crept over him, while residing on his manor at Knowle. He breathed his last on the 12th of October, 1500. His will, from the Canterbury Register, is given in Battely.† It shows his regard for the royal family. To the king he bequeathed his best portiforium; to Queen Elizabeth his best psalter; to the Lady Margaret, the king's mother, "a round image of the Blessed Virgin, of gold;" to the most benign Lady Margaret, whom he styles his little daughter (god-daughter), and the eldest daughter of the king, a cup of gold and £40 in money. To many of his relations there are bequests of land and money. The sum of £128 6s. 8d. he appointed to be expended by his executors yearly, for twenty years together, for the maintenance of twenty students in Oxford and ten students in Cambridge.‡ He appointed a thousand marks to be spent upon his funeral, chiefly in alms to poor persons. He showed his regard for the church of Canterbury, by presenting it with eighty copes of white, richly embroidered with gold, and his proper arms. His device was the word *Mor* over the figure of a tun,§ with the sentence "*Deo sit gratiarum actio.*"|| The pall at his funeral was very beautiful.

\* The Canterbury obituary says, "ad annum fere octogesimum."  
—Ang. Sac. i. 24.

† Appendix, 35.

‡ Thomam Mortonum et Johannem Mortonum duos ex fratribus filios scripsit hæredes et Johannem Fineuxium—executorem instituit.

§ Hasted, 342; Ang. Sac. i. 63.

|| Ang. Sac. i. 64.



It consisted of black silk, margined with the purest gold. In spite of all entreaties, he refused a place of public sepulchre in the church ; and chose to be buried under a plain marble slab in the crypt before the image of the Virgin. Two monks were appointed to sing two masses daily, with Placebo et Dirige, at a weekly salary of forty pence.

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In the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, the remains of this primate securely rested in the time of the writer of the *Dies Obituales*,—according to his testimony, “*corpus fœlicissimum jam quiescit*,”\* but they are there no longer, as appears from the strange circumstances relating to them mentioned by A. Wood:—The stone sepulchre, he says, was but just deposited in the ground, over which a marble slab was laid ; but this, in the course of time, being cracked and broken, several of this cardinal’s bones, wrapped in divers seer cloths, were purloined. At length, the head being only remaining in the sepulchre, it was begged out of a pious mind (purposely to save it) from Dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1670, by Ralph Sheldon, in com. Wygorn, Esq., who, looking upon it as a choice relique, keeps it at this day in a leaden box, with its seer cloths remaining upon it.†

\* Ang. Sac. i. 64.

† A. Wood, *Annals*, i. 642.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## HENRY DEAN.

Early history unknown.—Educated at Oxford.—Not a Wykehamist.—Went also to Cambridge.—Becomes a Canon Regular.—Llanthony.—His Munificence.—His connexion with the Mortons.—Lord Chancellor of Ireland.—Justiciary.—Consecrated Bishop of Bangor.—Recovers the property of the See.—Translated to Salisbury.—Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.—Translated to Canterbury.—Legate.—Officiates at the Marriage of Prince Arthur and the Princess Katherine.—Negotiates the Marriage between the King of Scots and the Princess Margaret.—His Death.—His Will.—His Funeral.

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Henry  
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FROM our ignorance of the early history of Henry Dean, his elevation at the close of life to the highest position in Church and State takes us by surprise. Wood informs us of a tradition, according to which he was a native of Gloucestershire; and as it is certain, that a branch of the ancient family of Dean was settled at St. Briavel's Castle in the forest of Dean so early as the reign of Henry I., this tradition, supported

Authorities. — Hall's Chronicle. Hardyng. Polydore Vergil. Polychronicon. Letters and Papers of Richard III. and Henry VII. ed. Gairdner. The chief Authorities have been collected and collated by the Rev. John Bathurst Dean, in a communication to the *Archæological Journal*, on the will of the archbishop. The name is spelt Dene by the writer just referred to; but in a matter always so uncertain as the spelling of a name in the fifteenth century, I have followed the mode of writing which is usually adopted.

by other evidence, was probably founded on fact. He must have been born about the year 1430. On the same authority, that of Wood, and from a document which I shall presently quote, we may affirm that he was an Oxonian ; but when it is asserted that he graduated a member of New College, the assertion is not corroborated by any of the college documents. I am indebted to the kindness of the wardens of the two St. Mary Winton Colleges for searching their registers and other records, and I am afraid we cannot claim him as a Wykehamist.\* From the fact of his being an Austin Canon, I think it most probable that he was educated at St. Mary's College.

The name of Henry Dean appears in the "Athenæ Cantabrigienses ;" and it is not impossible that, after leaving Oxford, he may have concluded his studies at Cambridge. No evidence, however, has been produced of his connexion with that university. †

\* In 1851, Dr. Bardwell showed the warden of New College a MS. account of the Bishops of England and Wales, belonging to the late Dr. Routh, president of Magdalen, in which it was stated that Henry Dean had his education at New College, but without stating whether he was or was not a Fellow. This led to a renewed search of the college documents, when Dr. Sewell, the present warden, finding no trace of Dean, concluded the statement in the manuscript to have been merely a transcript of the misstatement made by Godwyn. If we refer to Godwyn, he says : "In Collegio Novo Oxoniæ educatum testatur in ecclesiastica Historia Harpsfeldius, utcumque Cantabrigienses eum pro suo vendicent." As Harpsfield was himself a Wykehamist, this would be high authority ; but, unfortunately, when we turn to Harpsfield, we find that Godwyn, in his haste, did not perceive that it was not of Dean, but of Warham, that Harpsfield wrote.

† Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, pp. 6, 530. It has been doubted whether he graduated in his youth at either university. Hasted, however (*Hist. Kent*, iv. 735), says he proceeded S.T.P. at Cambridge, 1501. He does not give his authority.

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The precise period of his becoming one of the black canons, as the Augustine canons were called, is equally uncertain with the other events of his early life. The regular canons of St. Augustine, though of earlier date on the Continent, were established in England about the year 1105. It was a powerful order, and became in Ireland, it is said, more numerous than the Benedictines. The Premonstrants, or white canons, were a branch of this order. The black canons, or Augustinians, possessed two mitred abbeys, Waltham and Cirencester; one cathedral priory, Carlisle; and one abbey, which was afterwards converted into a cathedral by Henry VIII., Bristol.

One of the earliest settlements of the black canons was at Llanthony in Monmouthshire. Hither, in a solitary dell beautifully situated in the valley of Ewias, William, a military retainer of Hugh de Lacy, and Ernisius, chaplain to the good queen Maud, retired from the cares of the world, so early as the year 1103. They erected a church, which Ernisius obtained permission to convert into a priory of canons regular, who were just coming into fashion, the land being given by Hugh de Lacy, and he was accounted the founder. Ernisius was the first prior, and he presided over forty religionists.\*

Of the abbey of Llanthony, called Llanthonia prima, there was a cell on the south side of the city of Gloucester, on a spot of ground called The Hide, given to the canons in the year 1136. The brethren of Llanthonia prima found their quarters in Wales anything but comfortable; and the chronicler contrasts the loveliness and peaceful character of the surrounding scenery, with the rudeness and savage

\* The authorities may be seen in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi. 570.

conduct of the natives. The canons of Monmouthshire, instead of labouring for the conversion and civilization of their neighbours, were continually finding excuses for repairing to Gloucestershire; and the cell had gradually become, before the year 1136, a new monastery, destined to supersede the original foundation. Of this establishment Henry Dean became the prior before the year 1481, though the precise time of his appointment I do not find.

The prior and convent of Llanthony near Gloucester had maintained a high reputation, and the service of the church was conducted with a solemnity and decorum which contrasted favourably with the proceedings of the brethren in Monmouthshire. Owing to the migration of the brethren to Gloucester, the establishment was represented in Wales by four brethren, *minus religiose viventes*; who, to speak with moderation, were not living as they ought to have lived. John Adams, the prior, was wasting the property, and for his own purposes, alienating the estates.

Such was the state of affairs when Henry Dean became prior of what, legally speaking, was only a cell of the Welsh priory, though the daughter establishment was more beautiful than a mother, which had become deformed. When the Government was settled under Edward IV., the case was brought under the notice of that monarch, and the king, having taken all the circumstances into consideration, reversed the order of things. Uniting the two priories, he made the establishment at Gloucester the principal house; on condition that a native prior and four canons should be maintained in Monmouthshire, for the due performance of the services of the church. Thus, in fact, Llanthonia prima became a cell of Llanthonia secunda;

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Llanthonia secunda became Llanthonia prima; the daughter assumed precedence of the mother. But it was not without a pecuniary consideration, that these privileges of the Gloucester priory were obtained: they were purchased by the payment into the king's hands of three hundred marks. The right of patronage, with all the possessions of Llanthonia prima in Wales, were granted to Henry Dean, prior, and to the convent of Llanthonia secunda and their successors.\*

The gateway of the Gloucestershire priory, though in ruins, still exists to bear witness of the artistic taste and munificence of Prior Dean, its second founder. On that gateway, erected by him, an escutcheon of his arms may be seen, a chevron between three birds. These birds, as the present learned representative of the family of Dean observes, sometimes emblazoned as Cornish choughs, may be regarded as the Danish ravens. In allusion to them, in some remarks on an heraldic window in York minster, it is said that in the English of that period Danes and Danish may be found spelt respectively Deneis and Denez (after the Anglo-Saxon, *Dene*, Danes). According to these orthographies, Dane's raven and Danish raven would differ only in one letter from Dene's raven. Some families named Deane have borne ravens, which have been occasionally converted into crows or choughs; the Denmans have a raven for their crest; and analogously several families named Dennis (variously spelt) have borne *Danish* axes.†

\* Pat. 21, Edw. IV. 10th May, 1481. Compare Monasticon, vi. 139, with vi. 569. It has been doubted whether this deed of annexation was finally carried into effect, because the estates of the Welch Llanthony are valued distinct from that of the other priory.

† Archæol. Journal, xvii. 28.



I have seen it somewhere stated that Henry Dean had considerable influence with King Edward IV., and also with his successor. As regards Henry VII., the statement is correct, if the reference is to the latter years of Dean's life; but I can find no authority for the assertion in regard to King Edward. The tradition is, that Dean was indebted for his advancement to Archbishop Morton, and this is so probable that it may be stated as a fact. Robert Morton,\* a kinsman of the archbishop, was Bishop of Worcester, of which diocese the town of Gloucester formed part, between the years 1487 and 1497. During this period we know that he was visited by the primate. With the prior of Llanthony, the Archbishop of Canterbury thus became acquainted; and when Henry VII. required the services of a man firm in character, and conciliatory in his manners, to be employed on a service requiring temper, discretion, and sound judgment, the Prior of Llanthony was mentioned by the most reverend Chancellor of England as a man possessing all the qualifications of a great statesman.

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It has fared with Henry VII., as with the great men who preceded Agamemnon. For want of an

\* Robert Morton was brother's son to Archbishop Morton. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and served the office of proctor. He held prebends in the cathedrals of Lincoln, St. Paul's, York, and Windsor. He was Archdeacon of Winchester in 1478, and of Gloucester in 1482. He succeeded his uncle as Master of the Rolls, January 9, 1479. (Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. IV. p. 2, m. 12.) He retained the office during the ten or eleven weeks of Edward the Fifth's reign; was continued in office for about three weeks by Richard III., and was superseded on the 22d of Sept. 1483, by Thomas Barowe (Rot. Pat. 1 Richard III. p. 5, n. 32). He was consecrated to the see of Worcester on the 28th of Jan. 1487. He died in 1497.—Reg. Morton, cf. MS. Cotton, Julius, B. 12.

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historian, he has not secured the fame which he deserved. From the results of his government, as we have remarked on a former occasion, we may surmise the wisdom of his policy; but with the details of some of his wisest measures we are not made acquainted. Some of the measures themselves are passed over in one careless paragraph, on which the reader is not invited to linger. Henry's Irish policy is thus almost ignored by historians; and yet it was he who first made Ireland part and parcel of the empire. Down to his time, Ireland had been treated as a conquered country; or at all events, as a mere dependency of the English Government, to be governed as we now govern, or did till lately, our distant colonies.

Of Ireland Lord Bacon does not speak in flattering terms. He describes a country which has, since his time, been productive of some of the greatest captains and statesmen of our common country, as "the soil where the mushroomes and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper."

The condition of the country was, indeed, deplorable. It was almost without law, each chieftain doing what seemed good in his own eyes. An impostor, so vulgar and void of all pretensions to respect as Lambert Simnel, had actually been crowned King of England, in the metropolis of Ireland; peers, judges, and prelates kneeling at his feet, and doing him homage. It was towards Ireland that Perkin Warbeck was directing his course in 1493; and it was presumed that those who had supported Lambert Simnel would not be backward in their allegiance to a young man who was upheld by the Duchess of Burgundy, and acknowledged as her nephew.

It was under these circumstances, that Henry deter-

mined to make Ireland an integral part of his kingdom; and, as was usual with him, he was resolved to effect such resolution by policy, and not by violence.

His second son, young prince Henry, was appointed Lord Lieutenant. This was an honorary office, the duties of which were to be performed by a deputy; and on the 12th of September, 1494, the office of deputy was assigned to Sir Edward Poynings. It was his business to guard against invasion, and repel the attacks of the lawless nobles, who might have assembled to intimidate or disperse the parliament. At the same time, to conduct the affairs of the civil department, the prior of Llanthony was selected; and on the 13th of September 1494, he was constituted Lord Chancellor of Ireland.\* The complete success of the parliamentary proceedings, as contrasted with the comparative failure of the military operations, is remarkable. The lord deputy immediately summoned a parliament, which met at Drogheda, on Monday after the feast of St. Andrew, the 1st of December, 1494.

At this parliament, the chancellor, described by the chronicler, as "Sir Henry Deane, late abbot of Llanthony, a man of great wit and diligence," addressed the assembled nobles, "with a gentle exhortation, and required of them first to persist in due obedience and fidelity towards their king, and to aid his capitator, Sir Edward Poynings, with their might, power, and strength." He prevailed upon the parliament to pass the memorable statute, known in history as Poynings'

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\* Knight's Law Officers of Ireland, 15 Pat. 11, Henry VII. i. in dorso. In Gairdner's Notes from the Patent Rolls, 374, is the following:—"Pat. 13th Sept. 10 Hen. VII. appointment of Henry (Dean) Prior of Lanthony, Bishop-elect of Bangor, as Chancellor of Ireland."

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Act, which effected the object of the king. It enacted "that no parliament should thenceforth be holden in Ireland until the acts were certified unto England." It was made illegal to exact coin and livery, in lieu of which a regular subsidy was voted to the king. The war cries, "Crom-a-boo," and "Butler-a-boo," were abolished, and the statutes of Kilkenny passed in the reign of Edward II. were, with some amendments, confirmed.\* On the first of January following, Dean was, in the absence of Poynings, constituted justiciary of the kingdom.

The abilities displayed by Dean, in the conduct of affairs in Ireland, were not likely to be overlooked by the king. Henry VII. had the sagacity to select prudent counsellors, and the wisdom to requite handsomely the faithful services of his employés. Early in the year 1496, the see of Bangor had become vacant by the death of Richard Edenham,† and Henry Dean was appointed his successor, being permitted to hold the priory of Llanthony in commendam. He received the temporalities on the 6th of October, 1496.‡ Of the particulars of his consecration, no account has come down to us. It may be presumed that his friend

\* Hall's Chronicle, 470. Letters and Papers illustrative of the reign of Richard III. and Henry VII. Pref. xlv.

† This prelate was born at Hednam, in Norfolk, and became a Franciscan friar. He was at one time Dean of Stoke Clare. He was consecrated to the see of Bangor on the 10th of March, 1465, having obtained a licence on the 8th to have his consecration performed out of the church of Canterbury. Where it was performed is not known. He restored to the church of Bangor the pontificals which had been lost during Owen Glendower's spoliation of the cathedral. He died in 1496. His name is variously spelt; it is given here as it appears in the licence.—Reg. Cantuar.; Pat. 12, Hen. VII. m. 19.

‡ Pat. 12, Hen. VII. m. 19.

and patron, Archbishop Morton, officiated on the occasion.\*

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The bishopric of Bangor was chosen for Dean, *propter loci vicinitatem*; the western extremity of his diocese being the nearest point from which Ireland can be reached. The Chancellor of Ireland could, therefore, pass over to Wales, if his episcopal duties required his attendance; and the Bishop of Bangor could return to Ireland, should his presence in parliament or the court of chancery be demanded. But he had not accepted the chancellorship as a permanent appointment; and in two years he had accomplished the object for the attainment of which he had accepted the office. He found, in his new diocese, ample employment for his energetic mind, and true to his principle of devoting himself to the business in hand, though he occupied the see for little more than three years, he effected an entire reformation in all that related to its temporal affairs. Of his spiritual duties we hear nothing. He was ready to discharge his official functions when required, and was regular in his private devotions. This was, at that time, all that was expected from a bishop. But he found the bishopric in a very deplorable condition, and he had to encounter difficulties equal to any with which he had to contend when labouring among the uncivilized Irish. The diocese of Bangor had not merely been neglected by its bishop,—it had been virtually abandoned. The income of the see was small, and the kings of England had been accustomed to confer it upon some wealthy abbot, living at a distance, who never thought of residing at Bangor, and

\* Stubbs, 173.

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scarcely ever set foot in the diocese.\* The cathedral and the palace had been in ruins for nearly a century. Owen Glendower, when he was master of North Wales, had, in the year, 1404, ejected the then Bishop of Bangor, and had endeavoured to secure the appointment of a nominee of his own.† In this attempt he failed, but he left a lasting record of his revenge and violence in the blackened walls of the church and palace, both of which had been fired by his orders. No subsequent bishop took interest in the unfortunate diocese. Canons of distant sees—Lincoln and Chichester—monks and friars, had been appointed to it, and these were rapidly translated.‡ The great proprietors in the neighbourhood had encroached upon its lands, and the rights and privileges of the see had been tacitly purloined, so as to render the restoration of them a work of difficulty, almost insuperable.§ Among the foremost of the plunderers were those to whom the absentee bishops had entrusted the management of the property.

Such was the state of things when Henry Dean was elected Bishop of Bangor; and, although still Prior of Lanthony, and much occupied by Irish affairs, he, in a very short space of time, accomplished wonders. At great expense he commenced the restoration of the cathedral and the rebuilding of the palace. He prudently and sedulously examined the rights, and personally inspected the property, of the see. With “great firmness and expense” he ejected intruders.

\* Parker, 451.

† See Royal and Historical Letters, temp. Henry IV. pref. xxxviii.

‡ A cursory glance at Le Neve shows this.

§ Parker. Ex generosis Walliæ vicinis quisque paulatim cœpit aliquid ejus episcopatus proprium sibi vindicare.



The people, pleased at the coming among them of a prelate who, though determined to maintain his rights, had a reputation for the gentle and equitable administration of justice, assisted him with alacrity, and rallied round their diocesan. We have an instance on record of his resolute action, when he was convinced that he was in the right. There was situated, in the northern extremity of Anglesey, an island then known as the Isle of Seals, and now called the Skerries. That the island originally belonged to the see of Bangor was not disputed, and, on account of its fisheries, it was a valuable possession. It had been gradually encroached upon, until, in the reign of Henry VI., the rights of the intruders, such as they were, had been purchased by William Griffith. The Griffith family now claimed an exclusive right to the fisheries. The bishop remonstrated with the Griffiths, and, in a spirit of conciliation, offered them certain conditions, which were refused. He then determined to have the question decided by law. His first step was, to assert his own rights. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, 1498, he proceeded with a large party, well armed, to the island, and concluded a good day's sport, by the capture of "twenty-eight fishes, called Grampas." As they were leaving the island they were met by the son of Sir William Griffith, who had received notice of the episcopal proceedings; and his men, also well-armed, seized the fish. A battle ensued, in which the fish were recaptured by the bishop. Having thus recognised his own, and being in possession, he found no difficulty in establishing his rights as lord of the fisheries of the island.\*

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\* Parker, 451. Willis's Bangor, 95, 244; Pennant's Wales, ii. 274; Godwin, 182; Archæol. Journal, xviii. 259.

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On another occasion, if it be not a different version of the same story, certain Irish settlers having refused to pay rent, or to recognise the superiority of the Bishop of Bangor, Bishop Dean having obtained a judgment on the legality of his claim, attacked the intruders with an armed force, headed by himself, and compelled the intruders to submit.

Before his translation to the see of Salisbury, Bishop Dean had recovered nearly all the lost rights and property of the see, and, indeed, he refused to leave Bangor until a guarantee had been given, that the reparation of the cathedral, which he had commenced, should be continued.

His translation to Salisbury took place on the death of John Blythe,\* which occurred on the 23d of August, 1499. On the 7th of the following December the custody of the temporalities was confided to Dean ;

\* Of John Blythe little is known. He was born at Norton, in Derbyshire, on the borders of Yorkshire, and his family originally came from Leeds. He received his education at Cambridge. I find a John Blythe, Warden of King's Hall, in the year 1488 (Pat. 3, Hen. VII. p. 2, m. 1), whose patent was vacated, in 1498, in favour of Geoffrey Blythe, brother of John. This John was Chancellor of the University in the year 1494. Geoffrey Blythe, the brother of John, became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and they were nephews of Bishop Rotherham. Having enjoyed, as the custom then was, prebends in several cathedrals, in the year 1477 he was collated to the archdeaconry of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln, and in the year following he became Archdeacon of Huntingdon, in the same diocese. As in both cases he was installed by proxy, we may presume that in neither archdeaconry was he resident. In 1485 he was Archdeacon of Richmond, in Yorkshire. In 1492 he was appointed Master of the Rolls. On the 23d of Feb. 1494, he was consecrated at Lambeth, Bishop of Salisbury. He sat at Sarum for six years, and died on the 23d of August, 1499, and was buried in his cathedral.—Hist. Salisbury Cath. 209 ; Hardy's Le Neve, ii. 302, 600 ; Cassan, 269.

and the plenary restoration was given on the 22d of March, 1500.\* He was at the same time appointed Registrar of the Order of the Garter; and had permission to hold the priory of Lanthony *in commendam*.

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The object of the king was not to serve the Church, but to avail himself of the services of a minister, who, by his firmness of character, united with conciliatory manners and a sound judgment, had proved himself worthy of the royal confidence. He had placed Dean at Bangor, because it was a convenient position for one whom he might send over to Ireland at a short notice, for the conduct of public business; he desired now to bring him nearer to himself, and made him his diocesan; Windsor Castle being, until lately, in the diocese of Salisbury.

Henry Dean occupied the see of Salisbury for little more than a year. During this time, however, he received the great seal, under the title of Lord Keeper, the chancellorship having become vacant by the death of Archbishop Morton. The king was at this time at Calais, having taken his family there to escape the ravages of the sweating sickness, which had again made its appearance in England, though it lasted but a short time. The king had not made up his mind as to the appointment of a chancellor, and he had the great seal for a short time in his own keeping. When he left England, he was obliged to entrust it to some one, and he selected the Bishop of Salisbury, who retained it till a few months before his death. No parliament, however, sat while Dean held office; but the Lord Keeper was employed in arranging the marriage of the Princess Margaret with the King of Scotland,

\* Pat. 15, Henry VII. m. 27.

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and was thus the unconscious instrument of effecting a blessing upon two countries hitherto hostile.\*

On the death of Morton, Thomas Langton,† bishop of Winchester, was, on the 22d of January, 1501, elected as his successor in the primacy; but Langton died of the plague on the 27th, before his translation could be perfected.

On the death of Langton, the king desired the chapter of Canterbury to postulate the Bishop of Salisbury, and the acquiescent pope consented immediately to his translation.

The English Government was in favour with the authorities at Rome; for it had tolerated a proceeding which had lately replenished the papal treasury. In

\* Reg. Cant.

† Thomas Langton was born at Appleby, in Westmoreland, and was educated in the school of the Carmelites, or White Friars, until he went to Oxford. Here he entered at Queen's College, but leaving that university on account of the plague, he became a member of Pembroke College, Cambridge. He graduated in canon law, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. He had considerable dignities of the Church conferred upon him, and among them a stall in Wells Cathedral. In 1483, he was Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and Master of St. Julian's Hospital, Southampton. His provostship he held in commendam with his bishoprics, as in 1489 he signed documents as provost, being Lord Bishop of Salisbury. He was consecrated Bishop of St. David's on 7th Sept. 1483. In 1485 he was translated to Salisbury, and in 1493 to Winchester. He is said, in Wood, to have been a Mecænas of learning. He took great interest in the education of boys, especially in music, being devoted to the musical science himself. He used to encourage his scholars by good words and small rewards, saying to those about him, that the way to encourage virtue is to praise it. His munificence was made manifest by donations and bequests to the various establishments with which he was connected. He died at the beginning of the year 1501, and was buried in the chapel near the shrine of St. Swithin.—Godwin; Wood; Cassan; Milner.

the preceding year, Pope Alexander had held a jubilee, all the advantages of which, such as they were, might be realised without visiting the tombs of the Apostles, by the payment of a certain sum of money. For the purpose of thus raising money, he sent a commissioner Jasper Pons, into England. He was a Spaniard, and a man of learning, whose character and conduct won for him golden opinions; and, by his good management, he was so successful as to levy great sums of money for the service of the pope, with little or no scandal. To dispose the English to part with their money the more readily, the nuncio announced that it was to be spent upon an expedition to Palestine. The pope also endeavoured to persuade the king to unite with the continental sovereigns in a simultaneous attack upon the Turks. Henry returned a cautious if not an evasive answer, as was his custom; but in his more serious moments, and when he suffered those reproaches of conscience to which most public men, if they possess a conscience at all, are occasionally subject, he entertained an idea of seeking to expiate his sins, by placing himself at the head of a crusade. It was, however, only a momentary enthusiasm, soon to be quelled by the stern realities with which he had to do.\*

The pope being pleased at his success in extracting money, threw no impediments in the way of Dean's translation. Dean was elected on the 26th of April, 1501; and had his appointment confirmed by a bull dated the 26th of May. He received the cross with the usual ceremonies, which have been more than once

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\* Bacon, 627; Hall, 492, where an account is given of the whole transaction. In Wilkins, iii. 646, there is a document, *De Concilio et subsidio a clero contra Turcas concessio*: from which it appears that £12,000 were raised. The amount from each diocese is given.

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described in these pages. The pall was sent by a special messenger—Adrian, the pope's secretary—and it was delivered to the archbishop by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, appointed on the commission.\*

He was soon after nominated as a legate of the papal see, with the object in view of visiting the exempt monasteries, and of restoring that discipline which had been so generally relaxed in those establishments.† But Dean was aware, that he had been elevated to the primacy, in order that his talents might be employed in the service of the king. He never found time, therefore, during his short occupancy of the see, to be enthroned. For the discharge of the episcopal duties of his diocese he appointed a suffragan, John Bell, who, in 1503, became Bishop of Mayo; and who is mentioned in the archbishop's will, a silver cup being bequeathed to him.

\* John Arundel was the third son of Sir Rainford Arundel, of Lauhern, near St. Columb Major, in Cornwall. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford; and on the 22d March, 1474, he was instituted to the Rectory of Duloe, in his native county. He shortly after obtained a Canonry at Windsor; he became Rector of Sutton Courtenay, a Prebendary of York and Sarum. Late in 1483 he was elected Dean of Exeter. He was consecrated to the see of Lichfield on the 20th of November, 1496, and he was translated to Exeter in 1502. He was the patron of learned men, and having appointed John Sixtinus, a learned Doctor of Laws, in the University of Sienna, to be the Registrar of the Diocese of Exeter, the grateful registrar has recorded the merits of his patron. He had full choral service every day in his episcopal chapel, and, hospitable to all, he was abundant in almsdeeds. He died after a short illness at Exeter House, in London, on the 15th of March, 1504, and was buried at the south side of the altar of St. Clement's church, adjoining.—Oliver, 116; Leland, iii. 3; Reg. Arundel; Fuller, i. 212. Wood, Athen. ii. 692; Lans. MS. 978, 54.

† *Fœdera*, xii. 791.



Dean was anxious to evince his desire to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and to appear as a patron of learning and of learned men. He therefore addressed the following letter to the University of Oxford. It is from this letter that I have already inferred that Dean was indebted to Oxford for his education.\*

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“ Henry, by Divine permission, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolic See, to our venerable brother, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, as well as the most illustrious college of regents and non-regents, greeting. We have received, most excellent personages, the letters of your public school, from which we readily understood your desire and care for the preservation of your privileges, and at the same time what an expectation you have entertained that we should contend for your liberty. As to the one we exceedingly praise you ; as to the other, that you may not appear to have had such confidence in us to no purpose, especially in a matter than which nothing is of more interest to us, for what can be more pleasant to any one than to desire to seek, with a praiseworthy piety, the good of her whom one formerly found by experience a most affectionate mother. Although, therefore, certain inhibitory letters of a certain import have lately emanated from our chancellor in an unusual manner, there is nothing which should greatly trouble you, that you should thus imagine yourselves reft of your liberty. This indeed is so far from being the case that we should wish it at all diminished, that we consider no one of our predecessors has more desired to augment it. Which, in this very matter, you may easily understand, if you should wish to prosecute the matter further. Conversely, however, it will pertain to your justice not to attempt anything to the detriment of our Church of Canterbury, since we shall certainly be no less concerned in resisting it than in defending

\* This epistle was communicated to the *Archæological Journal*, xviii. 267, by the very learned librarian of the Bodleian, and is printed in Latin from the original MS. Reg. Epist. Oxon. ep. 518.

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your rights. For, as in the case of the poor widow, in vain do I set before you her widowhood and poverty, you who, since you are most learned in all law, human and divine, are not ignorant that the wretched are commended to every favour of the laws. Given at our manor of Lambeth, the fifth of the Ides of October (Oct. 11, 1502)."

Short as was the period during which Henry Dean occupied the metropolitan throne of Canterbury, two events, in that time, took place, which are of considerable historical importance. Archbishop Dean officiated at the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the Lady Katharine of Arragon; and, as we have before stated, he was engaged in the negotiation for a marriage between the King of Scots and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.

The former marriage was regarded as an event of much public interest; and in the papers preserved at Simancas, we have an account not only of the negotiations between the English and the Spanish court, but also of the enthusiasm with which the princess was welcomed by the people of this country, and of the minute attention paid to court etiquette in all that pertained to her reception.\*

We learn from a letter written by the licentiate Alcares to Queen Isabella, that the young princess had a stormy voyage from Spain. After they had passed Ushant they were overtaken by a most furious Ven-

\* See the scheme of the arrangements made for the reception of Katharine of Arragon, printed in the Hardwicke State Papers, from a modern MS. in the Harleian Collection; and another scheme printed by Mr. Gairdner, in the appendix to the Papers and Letters of Richard III. and Henry VII., from an original draft of Henry the Seventh's Council, in the Cottonian volume Vespasian, c. xiv. f. 81. An account of her actual reception will be found in Leland's Collectanea, v. 352.

dabat,\* and were thence found exposed to a succession of thunderstorms. The waves are described by the licentiate as immense. In an autograph Latin letter from Henry VII. to her parents, mention is made of the beauty of the princess as well as of her agreeable and dignified manner.† Of the beauty and agreeable manners of the princess we shall have occasion hereafter to speak; for by those who would seek a palliation of the brutal treatment she afterwards experienced from Henry VIII. she is wholly misrepresented as plain in person and disagreeable in her manners,—as if this were a sufficient excuse for a man who, after living with his wife on terms of affection for nearly twenty years, turned her off that he might indulge his passion for another woman.

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She landed at Plymouth on the 2d of October, 1501, and was to have been the guest of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the house at Lambeth, dismantled on the death of the late primate, was not prepared for her reception, and she took up her abode at La Place, the residence in Lambeth of the Bishop of Rochester. The Bishop of Rochester at this time, as in times past, was so closely connected with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that such an arrangement as this was easily accomplished.

A marriage by proxy between the prince and princess had already taken place on the 19th of May, being Whitsunday, 1499. An account of the proceedings on that occasion, in the chapel of the Manor House of Bewdley, is given in a letter of Dr. Puebla to the King and Queen of Spain, preserved among the

\* Viento de Abajo ("wind from below") that is, according to Castilian phraseology, "south wind."

† Simancas Papers, 305, 311.

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Simancas papers. The marriage was now to be publicly celebrated at St. Paul's. The princess had arrived at Lambeth on the 9th of November. On the day preceding the marriage she rode in great state through Southwark, and was received, amidst the shouts of the multitude, by the civil authorities at London Bridge. By her side rode the young Prince of Wales, and contemporary historians are at a loss for words to describe the splendour of the reception now given to the royal pair. At one place the procession stopped, that the royal ears might be refreshed by the eloquence of a local orator; at another, the clang of trumpets and the shouts of the people were silenced, that a ballad might be rehearsed. The various devices called into play the inventive genius and the wealth of the proud citizens of London; while their ladies gazed with admiration on the splendid apparel of the princess, and with astonishment on the peculiar fashions of the Spanish courtiers. The Spaniards, we are told, were, on the other hand, dazzled by the beauty of the English ladies; and Hall the chronicler becomes almost poetical when he attempts to describe "the goodly demeanour of the young damsels, and the amorous countenances of the lusty bachelors, in their fine engrained clothes, their costly furs, in their jewels, together with the goldsmith's work and embroidery, displayed in the long line of scaffolds, reaching from Gracechurch to Paul's." He is overwhelmed by admiration of "auriferous skarlettes, the fine velvet, the pleasant furs, the massy chains which the Mayor of London, with the suite, sitting on horseback, by the little conduit in Chepe, wore on their bodies or about their necks." \*

\* Hall's Chronicles, 493.

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The archbishop, attended by nineteen mitred prelates, received the royal couple at the cathedral. The young couple were, both of them, clad in white; and, preceded by the prelates, they walked on a raised platform from the west door of the cathedral to the high altar, where the marriage ceremony was completed. Of the feast which followed, Hall says, that it was "sumptuous and yet not so sumptuous as populous, nor yet so populous as delicate, nor so delicate as of all things abundant."

In negotiating the marriage of the lady Margaret with the king of Scots, James IV., the archbishop was associated with Fox, bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Surrey; and, although there were difficulties in the way which it required much diplomatic skill and delicacy to surmount, the matter was at length brought to a successful issue.\*

The archbishop's health had begun to fail, and he found it expedient to resign the great seal on the 27th of July, 1502.

The energy he had displayed when he was Bishop of Bangor he was prepared to exercise in the see of Canterbury. He rebuilt a great part of the manor house at Otford; and he repaired Rochester bridge, the parapet of which he strengthened with iron work. But the inevitable hour was at hand, and his designs for the good of the church were brought to a close on the 15th of February 1503, on which day he died at his manor house at Lambeth.† He was only two

\* Fœd. xii. 793.

† In the *De Successione Archiep. Cant.* the 16th of February is mentioned as the day of his death. *Ang. Sac.* i., 124. But Weever, from an inscription upon his tomb, and Godwin, who cites his authorities, give the 15th of February, which is the date accepted by Mr. Stubbs, and by Mr. Bathurst Dean.

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years archbishop, and from what will be presently stated, he came to it a poor man; or was impoverished, as many bishops have been, by taking possession of the see. He was never rich enough to be enthroned, and he deserves therefore great credit for the money he spent on the property of the see.

His will, which is a remarkable one, is to be found in the eighteenth volume of the *Archæological Journal*. He gave the most minute directions with reference to his funeral, and left the sum of £500, an enormous sum, when the relative value of money is taken into consideration, to defray the expenses of his obsequies. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his urgent entreaties to his executors, that they should carry out his wishes, they were only partially observed.

Sir Reginald Bray and the Archdeacon of Canterbury confided the management of the funeral to two of the late archbishop's chaplains, who were Richard Gardiner, and Thomas Wolsey, destined hereafter to act so conspicuous a part in English history. A barge, with funeral trappings, was moored at the steps of Lambeth manor house. Thirty-three sailors arrayed in black, and each bearing a lighted candle, received the coffin, and watched the corpse during its progress down the Thames, until they arrived at Faversham. At Faversham a funeral car had been provided. On it was laid the coffin, surmounted by an effigy of the archbishop, sumptuously arrayed in his pontificals. Fifty torches blazed around the dead man, thus lying as it were in state, and sixty gentlemen followed on horseback. On the feast of St. Matthias the apostle, the 24th of February, the interment took place in Canterbury cathedral, according to the injunctions of



the defunct, in the martyrdom, near the grave of archbishop Stafford.\*

It is expressly stated, that after his injunctions had been carried out thus far, the bequests and directions of Archbishop Dean were disregarded by his executors.†

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\* The authority for these particulars is a MS. register of Canterbury. I have been satisfied with the extract given by Mr. Bathurst Dean. The following are extracts from Kennet. "Obiit Lambethæ; inde cadaver ejus per Thamesim fluvium a triginta tribus nautis nigro panno vestitis Faversham in cimba funebri more ornata cum cereis accensis ductum est. Quo etiam iidem nautæ idem cadaver simili funebri ritu in feretro Cantuariam duxerunt. . . . Funeribus illis sumptibus v<sup>o</sup> li. destinavit; ideo funus ejus magnifice et sumptuose peractum est. In eo funere exequendo Thomas Wolseus, qui capellanus fuit, cum Ricardo Gardiner altero capellano, ab executoribus testamenti hujus Archiepiscopi impendendis funeribus sumptibus præfectus est . . . Antiqu. Rot." Extract in Bishop Kennett's M.S. Coll. Brit. Mus.: "A.D. MDij. die xvj. Feb. obiit Henricus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus in manerio de Lambeth, cujus corpus delatum erat per mare ad Faversham, et exinde usque ad Cantuariam, cum sexaginta equitibus generosorum, &c., et quinquaginta torticiis circa corpus ejus ardentibus, imagine in carrecto, ad ejus similitudinem pontificalibus insignissime preparata, super cistam in qua corpus."

† Translatus est a Sede Sarisburiensi ad Cantuariensem, anno 1500. Pallium accepit anno 1501. Sedit annos 2. Obiit anno 1503, ineunte, die 15 Februarii, apud Lametham. Ista solummodo habet Author Antiquitatum Britann. neque certiora invenire potui. Diem obitus confirmat Obituarium Cantuariense MS. in Bibliotheca Lambethana; cui consonat Indiculus MS. de Consecrationibus et successione Archiepiscoporum Cant. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana (Jul. C. 2), et Epitaphium Sepulchrale. Minus recte itaque aliud obituarium Monachorum Cantuariensium MS. inter Archiva Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. cujus hæc sunt verba: *Anno 1503, obiit die 16 Februarii, Reverendus in Christo Pater Henricus Deene, &c. Iste stetit Archiepiscopus quasi per tres annos et nunquam erat installatus in propria persona in sancta sede Cantuariensi. Iste Archiepiscopus non habet memoriam 30 dierum ut moris est Archiepiscoporum PROPTER PAUPERTATEM. Erat valde deceptus per executores suos; multa*

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That Dean was a man respected for his piety, we may infer from the allusion to his death made by the celebrated Dr. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, at the funeral of Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII. Taking his text from Job xix. 21. "Miseremini mei saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me," he says:—"These words I speak in the name of England on account of the great loss the country has sustained of that virtuous Queen, of her noble son the Prince Arthur, and the Archbishop of Canterbury."

A fair marble stone, inlaid with brass, marked the place of his interment. This has now been destroyed as is also the inscription, which, according to Weever ran thus:—

"Hic sub marmore jacet corpus reverendissimi in Christ patris et Domini D. Henrici Dene, quondam Prioris Prioratu de Lanthonæ; deinde Bangorens ac successione Sarum Episcopi. Postremo vero huius Metropolitice Archiepiscopi qui diem suum clausit extremum apud Lambith, 15 die mens Feb. Ann. Domini 1502, in secundo Translationis Ann Cuius anime propitiatur altissimus."\*

*bona reliquit post se, sed executores sui sceleratissime furabantur ut dictum est, &c. Anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi 18.—Ang Sac. i. 124.*

\* Weever, Funeral Mon. 232.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.















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